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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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THE STANDARD.

THIRTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Reported for the Standard by J. M. W. YERRINTON.

Speech of Hon. George Thompson.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Among the speakers announced to address this meeting is the name of WM. LLOYD GARRISON, our President, and that we may afford him an opportunity of gratifying those who are doubtless anxious to hear the words of one who has so long labored in the anti-slavery cause, I shall do little more than present myself to this meeting, and ask to be excused from the delivery of a speech. Indeed, sir, I have none to make on this occasion. I feel it is rather my duty, on this occasion, to hear than to speak; to receive counsel instead of presuming to offer it. I may, however, venture to offer to this vast audience, and more especially to those who have been laborers in the anti-slavery cause, my heartfelt congratulations on the present position of the great question in which they have taken so deep and earnest an interest. Although at the commencement of the war which has now happily terminated, I foresaw clearly not only the maiming and mutilation of slavery, the weakening of its power, and the revelations of its character in its true light, but the ultimate destruction, also, of the hellish system, which has been so wide-spread and bitter a curse to this country, I did not anticipate that in so short a time the work would be so thoroughly done, and that to-day, on this, the 32d Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the question should not be, What shall be done to get rid of slavery? but, What now should be the conduct of the people of this country and of the government to the millions whom God in his providence has made free? (Applause.) I congratulate America at large, every human being within the limits of this great Republic, upon the events which we are called to celebrate. I am, and ever have been, from the moment that I connected myself with the anti-slavery cause in this country, what is known by the name of a Garrisonian Abolitionist (applause). I was so long before. Years before I ever visited this country, I was engaged in the work of proclaiming on the opposite shores of the Atlantic the principle which was being advocated by the honored President of the American Anti-Slavery Society here—that man is not a creature to be bought and sold—that man can acquire no property, possess no property, and never did have any rightful property in man (applause). The body he might enslave, might scourge, might brand, might kill—the man was never his; the mind, which constitutes the man, he never owned; and in proclaiming also that it was the duty of the individual, and the duty of the State having the power, instantly, unconditionally, absolutely, eternally, to get rid of slavery (loud applause). Unto the present hour, I have never been able to look at the great charters of your liberty in this country without the recollection that they have always been restricted and partial. Thirty years ago and more, when I first came to this country, the Declaration of Independence itself was the subject of sarcasm and ridicule. This nation, as a nation, did not then sincerely hold, still less practice, the "self-evident truth that all men are equal, and are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty." Your Declaration of Independence had become a nullity; and every other of your great instruments, lying at the foundation of your nationality, were equally disfigured by slavery. Your articles of Confederacy which bound the States together before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, were marred by slavery; for you will find that the privileges and rights of citizenship are therein extended only to the free *white* persons belonging to the then existing States; and your Constitution, otherwise so wise, excellent and perfect, was, as you know, "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," depriving your Federal government forever of the power to interfere for the abolition of that system which already had an existence in your country and so widely extended itself afterwards. Well do I know that it never was the intention of the venerable and illustrious men who framed that national instrument thereby to give either perpetuity or extension to slavery; but nevertheless, by the compromises they then entered into, and the guarantees they then gave, they did recognize it and establish it; and so far from their hopes being realized that slavery would speedily wither and die, it lived; lived to increase the number of slaves upon this continent from three or four hundred thousand to four millions; lived to extend the area of slave territory from 200,000 square miles to more than a million; and to raise the gross value of human chattels in the American market from $220,000,000 to $2,500,000,000. Under the Constitution, slavery grew, strengthened and expanded until this Slave Power made your Presidents, appointed your ambassadors, ruled your organizations, enslaved your churches, placed a padlock upon the lips of every minister of religion so that he dared not declare "the whole counsel of God," and brought the churches of this land into the closest complicity and coöperation with the system of slavery in the South.

Such was the condition of things in the past. All now is changed. "Old things have passed away, and all things have become new." Thirty years ago, books were opened in the Southern States for the raising of large sums of money to be paid for the abduction of the President of this Society, and of him who is now speaking to you. But a generation passes, and William Lloyd Garrison and George Thompson, the hated of thirty years ago, are, under the protection of the government, able to tread the shores of South Carolina, and I to win the proudest distinction of my life, by helping to pull the rope that rehoisted the old flag on Fort Sumter (prolonged and enthusiastic applause). In the completion of this great and holy work, I offer you the congratulations of the great body of my countrymen in England (applause). It is not true, it never has been true, that the millions, the masses of England, have been hostile to the cause of the Northern States (renewed applause). I never said anything with greater confidence than this, that I know the masses of the people of England have been with you. For one copperhead that you could have found through the length and breadth of the British Isles, I could have found ten within the precincts of these United States, aye, north of Mason and Dixon's line; and I believe that the sorrow which has overtaken you on these shores, through that calamity which has draped this building in sable, and been received as a domestic bereavement in almost all the homes of America—I believe that that sorrow has not been more sincere, more deep, more profound, or more universal, here in the land that gave Abraham Lincoln his birth, than there in the land of your ancestors and mine, where his virtues were known and his honesty appreciated (applause).

Glad am I to find the anxiety that is manifested to put the free negro in his right civil position. My mind is constantly engaged in endeavoring to solve the problem of the future—how these Southern States shall be so constituted, as that they shall be made loyal, kept loyal, and their population be ultimately fused into one homogeneous, harmonious mass—and I confess that I have seen difficulties innumerable and almost insuperable. But there is one difficulty greater than all the rest, and one which I believe to be insuperable, and that is to make these States loyal and keep them loyal without bestowing upon him you have made personally free the distinction and dignity and rights of an enfranchised American citizen (applause). My own belief is that the amount of loyalty in the Southern States amongst those who have been in rebellion is infinitesimal. My own belief is that you will not, for a long time, overcome those feelings of anger and mortification, of disappointment and resentment, which at this moment occupy the minds of the rebels who have been defeated in the open field. I see it, therefore, not as a question of right merely, but one of expediency, aye of national necessity, that you lay hold of the million of black male adults that I think may be found within what were recently the slave States of this country, and make those men, now freed from chattelism, citizens, according to the constitution of this country, so that they may become the supporters of your institutions and preserve those States from relapsing again into slavery, or at least into a state of society in which a proud oligarchy shall exert authority and dominion over the masses.

I will not longer, ladies and gentlemen, trespass upon your time. I am anxious to hear the views of your president, and as the time for adjournment draws near, and the moments that remain for him, even, are limited, I will simply thank you for your attention to me thus far, and trust that the time is near when the negro will not only trample under his feet the fetters of bondage, but be clothed upon with the rights of American citizenship—rights which I am certain he deserves, rights which I am confident he will improve (loud applause).

Speech of Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

IT is true, my name is down on the list of speakers for this occasion; and yet there is no need of my saying anything. My vocation, as an Abolitionist, thank God, is ended (applause). There is nobody who needs to be converted, who is loyal in spirit, and loves his country, and means to stand by it to the end. Four years ago, there was not a single city, town or hamlet in the United States that would not have voted down, by a large majority, the Abolition enterprise. Now, there is not a single city, village or hamlet in the land, that is loyal, that is not ready for the immediate, unconditional, everlasting emancipation of those in bondage. The most ultra sentiments, in regard to the claims of the colored race, are everywhere cheered to the echo. The people seem to be prepared to do full justice to those who have been wronged for so many years in our country. What special need, then, for me to speak? We are now a united people—never before. We have now high hopes of the future. We have decreed the abolition of slavery, our great national transgression; and now we may confidently look up to God for His blessing upon us, as a people, and He will not fail us. What has become of that bastard Confederacy of the South? Can anybody tell us? We know where the Federal government is; we know what its power is; and we know what the American flag now symbolizes—freedom—impartial, universal freedom. When that flag went down at Sumter, it went down as a flag under which four millions of slaves had been held securely in bondage; when that flag rose again at Sumter, the other day, it proclaimed the eternal overthrow of slavery, and the emancipation of every bondman. Will any one in this audience tell us what has become of Jefferson Davis? (Laughter.) One hundred thousand dollars reward is offered for him; and, rely upon it, if he be caught, the money will be paid (laughter). Now, it has proved somewhat different in my case, if you will pardon the personal reference. More than thirty years ago, Georgia offered a reward of five thousand dollars for my head. So, after Sherman got started, it occurred to me that I ought to have gone down with him, and claimed the reward; but, on sober second thought, I remembered that I should have to take my pay in Confederate currency, and it would not pay travelling charges (laughter). Why, I went to Savannah the other day, and there was no one in the place disposed to offer a sixpence for me! I walked safely through the streets of that city, as a free man, a radical Abolitionist; and no man dared to peep or mutter one word in favor of slavery, or of the rebellion. The times are wholly changed.

Again—can anybody here tell us what has become of that arrant braggart of Georgia, who once boasted that he meant to call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill? "Hark, from the *Toombs* a doleful sound!" (Great merriment.)

What has become of that Bombastes Furioso of Virginia, Henry A. Wise? I wonder if he has visited his estate within the past year. If not, why not? If he has, I wonder if he went into his parlor; and, if so, how he liked the appearance of things. How did he relish seeing the portrait of John Brown hanging upon the wall, as it does, wreathed with laurel, and the daughter of John Brown teaching the freed people in that room (loud applause)?

The Confederacy has vanished into thin air. Why, even the rebel generals themselves take it for *Grant*-ed that the rebellion is at last "played out." And where is slavery, the cause of the rebellion? If the rebellion has been put down, slavery has also been put down. They are "one and inseparable."

The Proclamation of President Lincoln took more than three millions of slaves, and broke their fetters; and for that act, his memory will be held in everlasting remembrance. For what he did as against the Slave Power, and in support of freedom, Abraham Lincoln laid down his life. And was ever man so mourned on this earth as himself? Never! Never in this country, never in any country! And, after all, what was it that endeared him to mankind so universally? It was not simply that he came up from among the people, a "rail-splitter," reaching the highest position in our country; it was not simply that he was an honest and amiable man; it was the consciousness that he incarnated in his position, and in his heart, the great cause of universal freedom. It was that he struck off the fetters of those in bondage, and was willing to lay down his life rather than see one of them again remitted to that dreadful condition.

What of slavery in Louisiana? Voted down. In Maryland? Voted down. In Arkansas? Voted down. In Kentucky? A rope of sand—and admitted by Gov. Bramlette himself to possess no vitality. In Delaware there are a baker's dozen of slaves, nominally. She is a very small State, though she has some great souls within her limits; but her contumacy will avail nothing. In November last, we had the popular decree recorded at Baltimore, that slavery should have no foothold on the American soil. Then Congress, at its last session, submitted to the States of the Union an Amendment to the Federal Constitution, rendering it forever illegal to hold a slave in our country; and State after State has come up, with great unanimity, in support of that Amendment; so that we have twenty-one States that have already voted for it, and only three States that have voted against it. And how many States are needed to ratify that Amendment? I hope no Abolitionist will ever raise the preposterous question, whether it will be necessary to wait until the reconstructed States are brought into this Union. No; when the Amendment was submitted to the people of this country, it was submitted to twenty-five loyal States, and to none others, and they alone are competent to decide upon it. You might as well talk of waiting until the felons in the state-prison have served out their sentences, and once more become incorporated into the body of law-abiding citizens, before you can make an amendment of your City Charter or of your State Constitution, as to talk about waiting for rebels to be transformed into loyal men, and then to ask them graciously to permit you to amend your National Constitution (applause). That Constitution is now amended, beyond all reasonable doubt. But even if, by any mischievous theory or perverse decision, it shall be decided otherwise, still we know that no reconstructed State can come into this Union which does not adopt as its basis the total abolition of slavery; and, therefore, we are sure of every such State in favor of the amendment. The three States which have voted against it—to wit, Kentucky, Delaware and New Jersey—staggering under their load of historical infamy, will yet make haste to change their position and fall into line, and we shall have the vote unanimous, that there shall be no such being as a slave or a slaveholder under the American flag, or within our American domains (applause). But if those three States shall not do this, they are of no consequence whatever—we can do without them (laughter and applause).

I rejoice to stand here no longer as an isolated Abolitionist, to be looked at as though I had seven heads and ten horns; but that, as a drop is lost in the ocean, my abolitionism has ceased to be distinctive. The guns of the American Anti-Slavery Society, thank God! are spiked, because slavery is abolished. I promised, years ago, that if the people would abolish the "peculiar institution," I, for one, would be ready for the abolition of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and now that they have done it, what need of any more anti-slavery agitation? We are one people, united in sentiment as against slavery; hence, our work no longer being peculiar as Abolitionists, let us mingle with the millions of our fellow-countrymen, join with them, as they will join with us, in putting into the grave of slavery everything that has sprung out of slavery (applause). Whatever of complexional prejudice, whatever of proscription, as against those whose skins are not colored like our own, whatever of injustice toward that race, now exists, must be buried in the same common grave. Man is man, and we must recognize him wherever he appears on our soil. We have opened our vast country to all the world besides—to aliens, to strangers and foreigners, to the most besotted and ignorant of mankind; we take them into our arms of brotherly love, and we say, "You shall be citizens here; you shall find freedom here; you shall have all the rights of human nature guaranteed to you here." Shall we say less to those who are native-born, who have made our soil gory with their blood, and who have received nothing hitherto at our hands but injustice and cruelty; and who, in our hour of peril and despair, forgave us all that we had done against them, and came to our rescue? It is through their aid, and by the blessing of God, the nation is saved. We have not saved it ourselves. Two hundred thousand stalwart men, transformed from chattels into freemen, have thrown themselves into the scale, and rebellion, slavery and treason have kicked the beam (applause).

There is no difference among Abolitionists—I trust none among loyal men—in regard to this matter of giving the ballot to those who have been so long disfranchised. We are one in this measure, and we must endeavor to see that it is carried without delay. We have a man at the helm who seems to be ready for all that justice demands—Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, President of the United States (loud applause). Was ever a more splendid testimony borne in favor of any man than has been in his case? What a hold Abraham Lincoln had upon our confidence, our affection, and our hearts! It seemed as if we could not possibly spare him. We prayed, hoped and trusted that God would preserve his earthly life until the end of his four years, and we had achieved entire freedom and reconciliation. But, alas! the spirit of slavery assassinated that noble man. The nation was indeed paralyzed for the hour—overwhelmed, crushed with sorrow and grief—at that awful bereavement; but it did not jostle the stability of the government, nor affect public confidence or credit, in the slightest degree. It was because we have Abraham Lincoln in Andrew Johnson; and we have in Andrew Johnson, perhaps, a man in some respects better fitted to meet the emergencies which are before us, and better disposed to see that full justice is done to the traitors who have involved this country in so much suffering and blood (applause). I confess that I like to see men act consistently on their own plane. If they cannot stand where I stand, or see as I do, then I will measure them by their own standard, and see whether they play false to it or are true; and, therefore, though I have my philosophy, as an individual, in regard to dealing with the worst of villains and the vilest of men, and though I am not in favor of capital punishment, on my plane of action; yet I do say, that if Jefferson Davis be taken, and the nation does not hang him, the nation will prove recreant to its own principles (applause). I have no sympathy with this talk about letting these traitors go unwhipt of justice; for if you punish any criminals—and you are a people who believe in punishment—see to it that you deal with those colossal transgressors, whose hands, whose souls, whose garments, are stained with blood—who have caused the deaths of hundreds of thousands of your countrymen—at least as severely as you deal with burglars and highwaymen (great applause). Otherwise, you are false to yourselves, and you will not help the cause of peace, of liberty, or of justice by such a course.

My friends, I will not detain you longer. I thank God that the day has arrived when we can blend like kindred drops into one, and look to the future for the Divine blessing upon our whole country and people. Though the South is at present a desolation, and the North is still wailing for her lost, yet there is in store for us, because we have resolved to put away the evil thing from among us, abiding peace and abounding prosperity. I rejoice that I have been permitted to live to see this day. My country! may the windows of heaven be opened, and may such blessings be poured down upon thee that there shall not be room to receive them! (Prolonged applause.)

The following hymn, by M. A. Cunningham, of Martinsburg, Ohio, was then sung with which, the proceedings of the meeting terminated.

Our nation's free! our nation's free!
All hail! the land of liberty!
Loud swell the trump that sounds its fame,
No longer now an empty name.

Far let the joyful tidings spread,
Where'er the feet of man can tread.
Waft it, ye breezes o'er the sea,
And tell the world our nation's free.

Our nation's free! our nation's free!
Proclaim the glorious jubilee!
Sublimely let its echoes roll,
And thrill with music to the soul.

The oppressor's power at last is broke,
And millions, freed from slavery's yoke,
Their thankful hearts and voices raise,
To speak their great Deliverer's praise.

Our nation's free! our nation's free!
How bright its future destiny!
Within its bounds no clanking chain
Shall bind the human form again.

BUSINESS MEETINGS.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, May 9.

The Society assembled in the vestry of Dr. Cheever's Church, but the attendance was so large that it was deemed advisable to hold the sessions in the church itself, and the meeting was accordingly called to order there, by Mr. QUINCY, one of the Vice-Presidents.

AARON M. POWELL, of Brooklyn, and J. M. W. YERRINTON, of Boston, were elected Assistant Secretaries.

WM. I. BOWDITCH, Esq., of Boston, Treasurer, offered the following report of the financial condition of the Society:

Annual Account of the American Anti-Slavery Society from May 1, 1864, to May 1, 1865.

DR.

By Standard Account	$4,351 72
By Donation Account	4,542 54
By Publication Account	128 47
By Interest Account	102 63
By Balance from Old Account	4,839 16
	$13,964 52

CR.

To Standard Account	10,709 59
To Agency Account	933 79
To Publication Account	107 67
	$11,751 05
Balance to New Account	2,213 47
	$13,96 524

The report was accepted.

OLIVER JOHNSON then moved the appointment of a Committee to prepare a roll of the members of the Society, which motion, after some discussion, was carried, and the following gentlemen appointed the committee: Oliver Johnson, E. D. Draper, Aaron M. Powell, Rev. J. T. Sargent, S. May, Jr., and Edward M. Davis. The question was raised as to what constituted membership, and the President stated that all who agreed in the principles of the Society, and had contributed to its funds, either directly or through its auxiliaries, were entitled to membership.

On motion of Mr. GARRISON, a committee of five was appointed by the chair to prepare business for the Convention, as follows: Messrs. Garrison, Phillips, Foster, Thompson, and Bowditch.

Mr. FOSTER moved the appointment of a Committee of five to nominate the officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

Mr. GARRISON opposed the motion, on the ground that the time had arrived for the dissolution of the Society, and that being the case, of course, the election of officers would be superfluous. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Garrison read the following preamble and resolutions, as expressing his convictions in the matter, and stated that, at the proper time, he proposed to offer them for the consideration of the meeting:

Whereas, the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society was rendered necessary by the universal complicity of the nation in the guilt of the slave system—Church and State, Government and People, Constitution and Union, all being wickedly subservient to the will of a Heaven-defying slave oligarchy; and,

Whereas, after thirty years of faithful testimony and untiring labor, on the part of this Society, to procure the emancipation of the millions held in bondage—and through Divine retribution poured out without mixture, and the treasonable attempt of the South to dismember the Union and overturn all free institutions—it is decreed by the nation that all fetters shall be broken, every bondman set free; and,

Whereas, it is not for Abolitionists to affect exclusiveness, or seek isolation from the great mass of the people, when the reasons which compelled them to take such a position no longer exist; therefore,

Resolved, That, uniting our thanksgivings to God with those of the emancipated millions at the South for the wonders he has wrought, and rejoicing with joy unspeakable that "the year of jubilee is come," so that further anti-slavery agitation is uncalled for, we close the operations and the existence of this Society with the present anniversary.

Resolved, That a committee of —— be appointed to liquidate whatever debts the Society may owe; and that the committee shall appropriate whatever balance of funds may be in their hands in such manner as they shall deem best promotive of the rights and interests of the colored population.

Mr. PHILLIPS expressed the hope that the motion for the appointment of the Committee would pass. He thought the question in regard to the disbandment of the Society could not be decided until the close of the sessions to-morrow, and if it was decided to continue the organization, the members of the Society might be obliged to remain in the city another day to transact the business.

Mr. GARRISON said the Society ought not to stultify itself by any superfluous action. It was well understood by the members of the Society, that the conviction was clear in the minds of the great body of those to whom they had entrusted its management for so many years, that the time had come when, as a matter of good sense and propriety, the Society should be dissolved, and they had made up their minds to act no longer in this associated capacity. The question, therefore, ought to be met at the outset, and settled. He did not see any force in the objection of Mr. Phillips, that there would be no time to choose officers after this question was determined, because the Society could vote to take the question at any time, and leave ample room for the transaction of any business needful to be done, if they should decide not to disband.

Mr. PHILLIPS hoped the question would be met upon its merits, and not upon the auxiliary question of the appointment of a Committee. If Mr. Garrison would be kind enough to hand his resolutions to the Business Committee, he thought he could say that they should be instantly reported to the Society, thus bringing the matter distinctly and decisively before the body.

Mr. JOHNSON moved to amend the motion, so that it should read, that a Committee be appointed to nominate officers to serve the Society in case it shall vote to continue its existence. Mr. Foster accepted the amendment, and in that form the motion was carried. The Chair announced the Committee as follows: Stephen S. Foster, Edward M. Davis, Rev. John T. Sargent, Robt. Purvis, and Elizabeth C. Stanton.

On motion of ROBT. PURVIS, the Business Committee was increased by the addition of the names of Thos. Garrett and Henry C. Wright.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the resolutions previously read by himself, and also one by Mr. Phillips, for the consideration of the meeting, without any committal on their part. Mr. Phillips's resolution was as follows:

Resolved, That since the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery is not yet ratified, and consequently the system of slavery stands in the eye of the law untouched; and, whereas, there are still thousands of slaves legally held within the United States; therefore, this Society calls upon its members for fresh and untiring diligence in finishing the work to which they originally pledged themselves, and putting the liberty of the negro beyond peril.

EDWARD M. DAVIS moved the adoption of Mr. Phillips's resolution.

Messrs. FOSTER and REMOND expressed the hope that Mr. Garrison's resolution, inasmuch as it presented the issue whether the Society should disband or continue its organization fairly and plainly, would be the resolution taken up for consideration.

WM. H. BURR, of New York, moved to amend Mr. Davis's motion by substituting, in place of the words "Mr. Phillips's resolution," the words "Mr. Garrisons's resolution." The amendment was adopted, and the motion passed.

GEO. T. DOWNING proposed to amend the resolution by inserting the phrase (from the Declaration of Sentiments), "and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans," but finding that the passage could not well be introduced, he subsequently withdrew his motion.

SAMUEL KEESE, of Keeseville—It seems to me that the fact that we are doing so much for the relief of the freedmen, and the fact that the whole people are concerned to engage in that work, render it necessary to disband this Society, and then the members will be at liberty to take hold of that work, and join with those who are engaged in the effort to secure to the colored people their rights as American citizens. The reason, then, for disbanding this Society, is not because our labor is done, but because this kind of labor, designed to free the slave, is no longer called for; because, if we retain this organization, these other associations that have been formed, and are springing up, will look upon this as a rival Society, and as somewhat in their way.

C. L. REMOND—I differ very materially from the friend who has just taken his seat. If I understand the Declaration of Sentiments and the Constitution, the object of this Society includes the very point to which our friend Mr. Keese refers, for the emancipation of the slave and the elevation of the free people of color were the original objects of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The work now being done in every part of our country for the enslaved and the nominally free, comes strictly and logically within the purposes of this Society.

Now, I am not among the number who would retain for a moment any one of the members or officers of the Society against his or her wish; for I hold that the man or the woman who remains reluctantly within its pale is of no service to our cause at this critical moment, and it strikes me they have but little to do but ask to be excused. I cannot understand the necessity for disbanding the Society, especially since it is doubtful in my own mind whether a new Society could be got into full play before some valuable hours, days and perhaps months shall be lost to us.

Now, while I am upon the platform, allow me to remark, once for all, that if I understand the spirit of this platform, it is, that the individual judgment shall remain inviolate upon it; and if I shall differ in my remarks from my friend Mr. Garrison, or any other member of the Society, I protest against the imputation, that the colored man who differs from his old and tried friends becomes an ingrate. Sir, if there is one word which I hate next to slavery, it is ingratitude; still, I hold that, as colored men or as white men, we may differ from these old friends without being liable to that charge.

Now, sir, how does the case stand in this country? It is assumed (and I do not know that I object to the assumption, only when things are brought to a very fine point, as they are sometimes here) that our white friends understand the black man's case; that they have so often put their souls in his stead, that it cannot be otherwise. To a great extent, this is true; but in many particulars it is not true. Now, while I defer to some and reverence others—and I hope no man can prove himself more grateful than I feel towards our friends—I do assume here that it is utterly impossible for any of our white friends, however much they may have tried, fully to understand the black man's case in this nation. I think I could name one or two men, perhaps a dozen here, who get very near to it, but not exactly "on the square," so to say. Our friend Mr. Garrison told us to-day, that anti-slavery being the order of things, there is no further necessity for anti-slavery work. Why, sir, if my friend should go out upon the highways and byways here, and put the very question which he has assumed as a foregone conclusion, he would find himself so utterly overwhelmed with opposition that he would hardly understand himself. I deny, from beginning to end, that anti-slavery, according to this platform, characterizes any State in this country. I deny, without fear of successful contradiction, that the anti-slavery which takes its color from this platform has a majority in the nation at the present time. Put the question nakedly to the American people to-day, whether they are prepared for the entire and full recognition of the colored man's equality in this country, and you would be voted down ten to one. This being true, I cannot sit here and hear these assertions and assumptions without raising my protest against them. While coming through in the cars last evening (I give this as an isolated case), I gave the conductor my ticket, as the other passengers did. When the others gave up their tickets, he handed them checks. He gave me no check, and I asked him if he did not intend to. He turned round, and gave me to understand that my black face was check enough. Again: I was going to a meeting of our friends in Salem last week, to consult in reference to the question of free suffrage and schools for the black man, and during my walk from my home to the Lyceum Hall, I heard the expressions, "D—d nigger on the stomach," "d—d nigger on the brain," etc., etc. Such expressions were never more rife in our country than at the present moment. And yet we are to understand that anti-slavery is the order of the day! Sir, it is not true.

But I will not occupy the time further, except to say, that standing as we do at this moment between the fires of rebellion in the South, and this hatred of the colored man in the North, I hope nothing will be done within this Society that shall look like a betrayal of our movement. I know how much our friends have been tried, how much they have sacrificed; and I do not blame those who are growing old, like myself, for their desire to retire. Still, sir, this retirement may be done in a way that shall cause great harm to our cause, and great harm to the colored people throughout the country. I hope, therefore, that this Society may be continued, and if its present officers desire to retire, we will endeavor to succeed them with others.

H. C. WRIGHT—Chairman, it seems to me that the discussion before us may be reduced to a small compass. It is not the question of the *effects* of slavery, but of slavery itself, that is before us. It is not the question whether the colored man shall have the right to the ballot; it is not the question of hatred to the negro; it is simply the question of chattel slavery. Is chattel slavery in the United States dead—sufficiently so to justify the disbandment of this Society—or is it not? This Society never had had an existence, but for the existence of chattel slavery. We did not form this Society, mainly nor prominently, to secure to the colored man his right to vote. The denial of that right is the result of that slavery which we undertook to overthrow. All these incidental things came in as arguments why we should exist as an Anti-Slavery Society; but slavery being dead—legally dead——

Mr. PHILLIPS—Will Mr. Wright prove that?

Mr. WRIGHT—That is the question, I want to state, for discussion; let us free it from all these things. Is slavery dead, constitutionally and legally dead, in this nation? That is the question before this meeting, it seems to me.

As to this talk about retiring from this movement, it comes with ill grace from anybody, in my judgment. Has anybody thought of retiring from the movement, while, in their opinion, anything was to be done to secure the object of this Society? The Society was formed solely to abolish, not that injustice which prevents the colored man from voting, but to abolish chattel slavery.

Mr. REMOND—Will Mr. Wright answer me a question? Is not the elevation of the free people of color set forth as one of the objects of the Society in its Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution?

Mr. WRIGHT—I will answer it by asking another. Would the Society have existed at all, had there been no chattel slavery? I answer, no; Mr. Remond will answer, no. The Society never would have been brought into existence if there had been no chattel slavery.

Mr. REMOND—We should have had nothing to talk about. But, inasmuch as slavery did exist, and we formed an Anti-Slavery Society, I simply ask if the elevation of the free people of color was not an object of the Society at the outset?

Mr. WRIGHT—I repeat; the refusal of the right of the colored man to vote is not slavery, in the sense which we formed this Society to oppose. Hatred of the negro because he has a black skin is not slavery, in the sense we have talked about it for thirty years. It is simply and solely the question of chattel slavery that we want to settle; and the question before us, in relation to our movement, is simply this: do we need an Anti-Slavery Society, when there is no slavery in the country?

Mr. PHILLIPS—Do you mean to say that there is no slavery in the country?

Mr. WRIGHT—I am not arguing that question, but it is the question that must come before the meeting and be discussed. I don't want the question dodged; that is what I mean. Let us meet it fairly. Is or is not slavery abolished in this country? If it is, we do not want the Society any longer. If it is not abolished, then we want the Society. [Mr. PHILLIPS—Hear, hear.] Now let us settle that question.

Mr. GARRISON—I do not ask the Society to permit me to retire. That is language I do not understand on this platform. I shall retire when I think proper, and I think proper at the end of this anniversary to retire. I think I am competent to interpret the language of the Declaration of Sentiments, if any man living be. I was the author of it; and unless I have grown demented, I ought to know what I meant, and what our Society meant in using that language. Our Society is "The American *Anti-Slavery* Society." That was the object, the aim. The thought never entered my mind then, nor has it at any time since, that when slavery had received its death-wound, there would be any disposition or occasion to continue the Anti-Slavery Society a moment longer. But, of course, in looking over the country, we saw the free colored people more or less laboring under disabilities, and suffering from injustice, and we intimated that, incidentally, we did not mean to overlook them, but should say a kind word for them, and endeavor to get justice done to them. The point is here. We organized expressly for the abolition of slavery; called our Society an *Anti-Slavery* Society. The other work was incidental. Now, I believe slavery is abolished in this country; abolished constitutionally; abolished by a decree of this nation—never, never to be reversed (applause); and therefore that it is ludicrous for us, a little handfull of people, with no means, with no agent in the field, no longer separate, lost, swallowed up in the great ocean of popular feeling against slavery—it becomes, I say, grotesque and ludicrous, in my mind, under such circumstances, to assume that we are of vast importance, and that we ought not to retire, lest the nation should go to ruin. I will not be guilty of any such absurdity.

But is this to retire from the field of labor in behalf of whatever is to be done in putting down prejudice, and giving the colored man his political rights? I hold all such representations, come from what quarter they may, to be slanderous. No man thinks of doing it; no officer of this Society who is to retire, proposes to leave such matters and give himself up to idleness, or to abate his testimony against the proscription of men on account of their color. It is part of our nature, it is part of our human duty, it is part of our obligation to God, to denounce everywhere all proscription of the children of God on account of the manner in which it has pleased Him to make His children. We, however, are not distinctive on this question of elevating the colored people. If we were, then there might be an argument, not for perpetuating the American *Anti-Slavery* Society, with no slavery to abolish, but for organizing a special movement, whereby we should seek the moral and political elevation of the emancipated. But we are no longer, I say, peculiar in this respect; we have the million with us. I hold the speech of my friend Mr. Remond to be a caricature of this nation, and a caricature of the views and feelings of those who are about to retire from this Society. We mingle now, thank God! with the great mass of our fellow-citizens, and I have only to go into any audience that may be gathered for the discussion of this question, and assert that it is the right of the colored man to vote, to have the verdict given there, as it was given here to-day, gloriously in favor of the measure. The newspaper press of the country—the loyal press—is almost universally, I think, friendly to the measure; at any rate, we, a handful of Abolitionists, are not the special champions of that movement. Let us mingle with the mass, then, and endeavor to keep with the mass, and not affect isolation or singularity, or assume to say, "Stand by, we are holier than you," when we are no better. I maintain, therefore, that what was put into the Declaration of Sentiments, in reference to the elevation of the free people of color, was incidental to the grand object—the abolition of slavery. Slavery being abolished, the sentiment that has done that work is a sentiment that will coöperate with us, and say that the colored man should have all his rights; and I believe those rights are to be secured by the popular verdict rendered for him in this nation (loud applause).

AARON M. POWELL—I have attended, for the last ten years, the anniversary meetings of this Society, and always with peculiar interest. I attend this one with an interest peculiar—differing in several respects from any which has preceded it. First, I rejoice in my soul that, in the progress of the arduous struggle in which we have been engaged, we are no longer perplexed with the issues of past years—that the question which perplexes my own mind, as I know it does that of others, is not one in which we differ, I infer, in motive, but one which, from the peculiar condition of national affairs, occasions a difference of opinion, honorable and honest on each side, as to the methods and means of activity under the changed condition of affairs. I look abroad, and I see slavery, not, in my own conviction, literally and actually dead; I do see it, according to all proper and sensible legal constructions, dead. I believe that if the statesmen of this country are the true men that the hour demands, it will be pronounced as their verdict that slavery, from the moment war began, ceased in this country. But I remember that that declaration has not yet in form been uttered. It is a fact which I am bound, in a candid and dispassionate survey of the field, to recognize. I look abroad, however, and see the slave system shattered, and crumbling to pieces with a rapidity which is indeed most gratifying. It was my privilege and pleasure, a few days ago, to look into the faces of many thousands of men and women, created in the image of God, and as truly, in their appearance and spirit, men and women, as the members of this Society here assembled; and to see them in their joy and thanksgiving, appreciating, in a most noble spirit, the freedom which has come to them, in this transition hour in the nation's experience. I saw, with my friend Garrison, two thousand, I suppose, of the number, just arrived from plantations, and they greeted their friend and liberator in a manner which I wish all of you could have witnessed (applause). I wish some artist, with the moral insight to appreciate the significance of the event, might have been there to have given us that picture as a fit and proper historic contribution to the picture gallery of the nation. But I remembered, while I was there, that these people came from plantations still organized on the basis of the old despotism, made, if possible, still more infernal and diabolical in the reign of terror and of cruelty in this transition hour. It was enough to stir one's soul to its innermost to listen to the statements of these people as to the condition of things they had just left behind. We are not, then, relieved from the burden of labor which has heretofore borne upon our shoulders. I am glad that there are many here to share it; and I was rejoiced at the spirit manifested by the representatives of the Federal government in the case of these negroes coming within the Federal lines. I was glad to see the evidence of heartfelt sympathy and interest in their welfare which many of these men manifested. But I remember, nevertheless, that the peculiar service which will be attributed to the American Anti-Slavery Society in history will be, that it acted as the prompter of the lax conscience of the people at large, in hours and moments of peculiar danger.

Now, I am rejoiced to remember, as I stand here, that the war is substantially at an end, but I believe that with its ending, peculiar responsibilities are thrown upon the shoulders of the citizen. We are at this hour just where our fathers stood when they began to organize this National government. I think that we, as Abolitionists, should be heart and soul and hand in earnest in this work. I think we are competent still to advise. I believe there never was an hour when our friends were watched as they are this very day; and therefore, while I have peculiar pleasure in the thought that we have reached this stage in our movement, I have an anxiety which is inexpressible, that we make no mistake, either individually or collectively. I believe there is still felt, in the hearts of many men and women who constitute a working element in this Society, a longing for advice and counsel and earnest labor; and there would be a feeling of bereavement, I know, in my own case, and I believe it would be shared by others, at the loss of the intimate association with men and women who think and feel substantially as I do in regard to the present condition of affairs. I do not assume that, as a necessity, the American Anti-Slavery Society, in form and name, must continue. I do not believe there is a moral principle necessarily involved in this question, but I do believe and feel, from my innermost depths, that as a people—not necessarily to be exclusive and peculiar—we have still a line of labor and duty which no other association, as yet, is adequate to carry out ("Hear, hear").

Now, there is a single point which I want to suggest in connection with the general remarks of my friend, Mr. Garrison. I have felt always, and I feel still, that there is a value which can scarcely be estimated, in a numerical or mathematical sense, in a thoroughly independent attitude of an individual or an organization. I cannot, with my own convictions, look to any organization, as yet, where I should feel myself entirely at home, and free to do the kind of work which I believe still needs to be done. If I became part and parcel of the prevailing political party, I do not need to rehearse to you, who have been educated in that view of things, wherein, by virtue of my membership in that party, I may, at a critical hour, either be forced to do violence to my convictions or to put my convictions under my feet, that my party may be benefitted for the time being. I think the last year has furnished its illustration, which I will not dwell upon, to show the disadvantage of political associations, viewed in the light which I name.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I think we have still a duty to perform in regard to the completion of the work of abolishing slavery itself; but our main duty is in connection with the condition of the freed people of the nation, and of the whites of the nation, North and South—still to act as educators and prompters, in the sphere wherein the compromising education and principles of the whites, in the past, have disqualified them at the critical moment to meet the insidious advances of the enemy, now disarmed upon the battle-field, but still potent in the brain; an enemy which has always beaten us, and with whom we cope at disadvantage if the acute and conscientious brain of the Abolitionists, as individuals, or as an organized body, giving individuals greater power, shall be withdrawn. I recognize the clause of the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society which relates to the elevation of the colored people; I believe it has a binding force; but I do not think it was the main question, it of course was not, in the organization of the Society; it was incidentally connected with the main question. If slavery had been technically abolished, I should say there would be no force in the argument for the continuation of the Society, as an anti-slavery body, that slavery had not been formally abolished. Let me suggest, then, that I think we need to continue the work, that we need to continue organized labor.

But there is another thought which perplexes my own mind, and which I know weighs upon the Abolitionists who are listening to me. We are here under peculiar circumstances. We have known each other, respected each other, loved each other. There is a decisive and marked difference of opinion. Have we not, with our differing views, learned that we may respect each other while we differ! I state this as a practical part of the present situation. The American Anti-Slavery Society is nearly out of funds. The question of the continuance of THE STANDARD is one of the subjects to come before us. Mr. Garrison, with a conviction which is firm and unalterable, I doubt not, with a view which I am bound to respect, if I do not fully agree with it, believes that his labor in connection with this Society is over. The Chairman of this meeting holds the same belief. Now, if the Society be divided by a strict party vote, on this question, you can easily divine, from the debate which has already transpired, the result. There will be just that feeling which always exists in divided societies. I raise, then, for your serious consideration, the question, may not this Society agree to a dissolution, and, agreeing to it, may not such of its members as have in their hearts and consciences a sense of duty to labor, properly and wisely come together in a capacity covering the ground of the still not wholly abolished slavery, and the still broader ground of human rights, as affecting the nation in other particulars, and inaugurate a movement which shall be spontaneous, hearty and harmonious, because voluntary, and greatly useful in this period of the nation's crisis? I think I see the way open and clear for such action. I do not wish, for one, that the action of this day or to-morrow shall give rise to any imputation of motives, whichever side may prove numerically the strongest. While I am free to say that I differ in opinion from my friend Mr. Garrison, I do not believe for an instant that he is other than he has ever been, and as I heard him pledge himself in the most noble and timely words to the thousands of freed people assembled in Charleston, their true and steadfast friend (applause). In our action, then, let us be dispassionate, clear-sighted, seeking only the triumph of truth and justice, and I believe God and our own sense of responsibility will keep us from making any mistake.

WENDELL PHILLIPS—I am perfectly confident that twenty-five years of labor, affectionate labor, have enabled the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society to discuss this question and to decide it, either one way or the other, without any personal bitterness. I will not believe that, in regard to any individual much less marked and peculiar than our beloved leader, it can be necessary to say, that there may be a practical difference of opinion on this question, without the slightest thought in any man's mind that it proceeds from any lack of devotion to the interests and the safety of the colored race. I consider that self-respect should lead us to ignore the possibility of any such misconstruction of each other's motives. Certainly, I have seen no necessity for anything of the kind, in any of the discussions

(*Continued on Fourth Page.*)

BUSINESS MEETINGS.

(Continued from Fourth Page.)

Mr. FOSTER—The correspondent is not anonymous. I would suggest to our friends, that if they desire to know the truth in this matter, the proper party to be applied to is the person making the charge, not persons who know nothing about it. Why does not our friend, Mr. May, call on the *Commonwealth* to say whether it is true or not? That is the way to get at the facts. If the *Commonwealth* has belied the President, let it be arraigned as a false witness. I hold that to be a crime next to the crime committed by Booth.

Mr. PHILLIPS—Mr. President, the correspondent from whose letter that statement is taken is one of the best and most reliable men in the country—Mr. Wm. G. Snethen. The letter was written for the purpose of bearing eulogistic testimony to President Johnson; with no intention to disparage him. The correspondent was merely stating the readiness of the President to give the suffrage to the negro, if necessary. His testimony is as good as that of any other individual in the United States, until it is disproved. A gentleman who stands here says he has, within two years, heard the President make exactly the same remark in Philadelphia. There is nothing at all singular in it. The same sort of remark was uttered by President Lincoln himself, but he had not the merit of adding, as President Johnson did, when somebody cried out in the crowd, "Free them, Governor, and let them go vote," "I would do that, willingly." President Johnson was so far ahead; and when Mr. Snethen mentioned the circumstance, he mentioned it to praise, not to disparage the President; and knowing him, as I do, personally, as a reliable man, and friendly to President Johnson, I certainly shall not allow, on this platform, that the negative testimony of men who say they never heard the language is to weigh against his, who says he did.

Mr. JOHNSON—I really desire to know the truth in this matter. When did President Johnson make that speech? Does Mr. Snethen mean to be understood that that speech was made two years ago, or since the inauguration of Mr. Johnson as Vice-President?

Mr. PHILLIPS—This statement which Mr. Foster has quoted, I presume he takes from a recent speech of mine in regard to the death of President Lincoln. I then said, in honor of the present President, that the only word he was known to have uttered on the subject of negro suffrage was contained in a letter of this correspondent; and I read as follows:

"The Vice-President was holding forth very eloquently in front of Admiral Lee's dwelling, just in front of the War Office in Washington. He said he was willing to send every negro in the country to Africa to save the Union. Nay, he was willing to cut Africa loose from Asia, and sink the whole black race ten thousand fathoms deep to effect this object. A loud voice sang out in the crowd, 'Let the negro stay where he is, Governor, and give him the ballot, and the Union will be safe forever'! 'And I am ready to do that too'! (loud applause) shouted the Governor, with intense energy, whereat he got three times three for the noble sentiment. I witnessed this scene, and was pleased to hear our Vice-President take this high ground, for up to this point must the Nation quickly advance, or there will be no peace, no rest, no prosperity, no blessing, for our suffering and distracted country."

I did not state, Mr. Snethen does not state in his letter, when he uttered it ['hear, hear"]. He states where he uttered it—in front of the War Department in Washington, and that he heard him. [At this point, Mr. Pillsbury handed Mr. Phillips the first part of the letter referred to, and after reading it, Mr. P. said]—Yes, putting the whole letter together, I think he does. [Mr. P. read the letter, by which it appears that the speech was made immediately after the fall of Richmond]. Is that speech to the discredit of the President? Have you many public men who have said as much? I did not notice the time when I quoted this remark. I did not care when it was uttered. I wanted a word from him, and I got it. He said he was willing to give the black man the suffrage. I contend that there is nothing in the paragraph which shows any such malignity towards the President as to detract from the weight of the testimony. Until some one comes upon this platform and says, "There was no such meeting, and no such speech, I am competent to affirm it," no man has a right, with the initials of that correspondent's name at the end of his letter, to affirm that it is a lie.

Mr. FOSTER—I would ask this audience, candidly, to point out the difference, if they can, between the spirit of this speech and the spirit of the Dred Scott decision. What was that decision? It was that "the negro has no rights which the white man is bound to respect." What is this speech? Mr. Johnson says he would sink the whole negro race ten thousand fathoms deep—for what? To save a government for the white man. Now, does he recognize in the negro any rights which he is "bound to respect"? For what does this Union mean but a government for the whites? I can put no other interpretation on it. And that is the spirit of the manifestations we see all over the country to-day.

A VOICE—Perhaps he would sink the whole rebel race for the same purpose.

Mr. FOSTER—Of course he would. He would sacrifice the rights of millions of men to save the government.

Mr. DOUGLASS—Will you allow me to suggest, that the President only meant that he preferred the white race and the Union to the black race, etc. It was only a rhetorical flourish.

Mr. FOSTER—Well, Mr. Chairman, I hope there was more rhetoric than principle in it; for I do think the sentiment, if it is to be interpreted literally, horrible beyond conception; and I am not willing to think we have a man with that spirit at the head of the government. I had thought better of him, and still think better of him. But, Mr. Chairman, while we have a public sentiment that will tolerate such an expression, it seems to me that it is no time for this Society to disband. What did we organize to do? Why, if I understand it, it was simply and solely to write the law of justice on the American heart. We discarded the idea of forcible emancipation, such as we have to-day. We have precluded ourselves, by our Constitution, from taking any part in such emancipation. We declared that we would never countenance the slaves in resorting to physical violence to defend their rights. But we have none other than an emancipation effected by physical violence to-day. The Southern States have not voluntarily relinquished their grasp on the slave. It is a forced emancipation, and the moment the force is withdrawn, the crime will be repeated. It seems to me that the only hope we have for the negro is in imprinting the law of justice upon the American heart. That is the only work which, as a Society, we have to do. When that is done, we may disband, but not till then. When that is done, there will be no negro cars, there will be no disfranchisement of men on account of color, no hooting after black men when they walk arm in arm with white men through your streets—all these things will disappear, and we shall not know that there are any colored people in the community; the idea will not present itself to any man that there is any difference of color. When that time comes, as it seems to me, it will be proper for us to disband, but not until then.

Now comes the question, is ours the best kind of organization to accomplish this work? Sir, if we have, as we claim, achieved so glorious a victory when the whole community was against us by this kind of machinery, can we not hope speedily to accomplish the little work that remains to be done by the same machinery? It seems to me that this old and time-approved organization had better be retained, rather than to embark in something new and untried. If we disband to-day, what kind of an organization will you give us as a substitute? One which is essentially the same, or one organized on different principles? It ought to be remembered by every Abolitionist that our organization is peculiar. There is nothing like it in the country, nor probably in the world. What is its peculiarity? It has a free platform, and it is the only free platform in the country. Your Freedmen's Aid Associations have not free platforms. This is the only platform in the country where freedom of speech is tolerated and allowed, where all men meet as equals, where every man is a man, and nobody is more. Tell me of your Freedmen's Aid Associations! Well, I go there, and what am I? You go there, and what are you? You have no right of speech there. No matter what thoughts are burning in your bosom, you cannot give them utterance. They have restricted platforms; invited speakers make the speeches, give the counsels—the working men are nobodies. The leading men—your ministers, your lawyers, your educated men, your politicians—they shape and control everything. What were you told here yesterday in regard to the meeting of the newly-formed Freedmen's Association? Why, that in addition to the speakers, Judge Such-a-one would be on the platform—therefore you should go to the meeting, and contribute liberally; and Squire Such-a-one would be on the platform—therefore you should believe in the Society and help it. Now, Mr. Chairman, we have repudiated all that kind of thing from the outset. We care not who is on the platform—whether it is a Major, a Squire, a Deacon, a Doctor, or who it is—we ask you to come to our meetings because there is something to be said there worthy to be heard, not because some distinguished characters are to sit upon the platform. We ask you to come to our meetings because free speech, the basis of all freedom, is tolerated; because a meeting of this Society is a democracy, pure and unadulterated, a specimen of what the whole country ought to be, in all its departments—civil, social, political and religious. We set ourselves the example of freedom to our countrymen, and ask them to follow it, and proclaim liberty such as ours "throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." Now if any of our friends are sick of a free platform, if they want an organization controlled by individual men of distinguished position in the community, let them go off from us, and organize a Society to their own taste. Sir, I shall not go with them. I claim the privilege, as an old member of this Society, of remaining. Inasmuch as no one can carry anything away by its dissolution, as there are no effects to be divided among its members, I only claim that they shall go out from us, and leave us with the machinery that can be of no possible use to them. If they cannot work with us, let them withdraw, and go to work outside. If they cannot work with us, we will give them the hand of coöperation in other organizations, and bid them God-speed in whatever channel they may choose to work. We simply ask them not to embarrass us.

Sir, I am sorry to have any of our old and tried friends leave us. It grieves me to my very heart that he who has stood first and foremost in this fight should retire before the battle is ended, before the last fetter is broken. Now, the proposition is made, by others, to disband when the Constitutional Amendment is adopted. Sir, will that secure the liberty of the negro? The Constitution has always guaranteed the freedom of the black man at the North, but has he been protected? On the contrary, has not man after man been sold into Southern slavery, with the ægis of the Constitution over his head, and has not the Federal government been powerless to protect him? Have not even your own white men of the North been utterly unable to claim constitutional protection in the South and secure it? And shall we give up four millions of slaves into the hands of their enemies, with no protection but simply a parchment Constitution? You can at best but make the Constitution, as many of us believe it has always been, thoroughly and radically anti-slavery. I don't care a straw about the Amendment to the Constitution. It was as anti-slavery as you could make it before you touched it. Every right which it guarantees to you or me, or to the tallest white man on this continent, it guarantees to the humblest slave.

Mr. Chairman, I hope and pray that we shall consider deliberately this question, before we take the step, which can never be retraced, of dissolving this Society, while the slave is still in his chains, and the negro of the North is under the heel of the bitter prejudice which exists against him.

ANNA DICKINSON—Mr. Chairman, I recognize the fact, that as there are some books that need no preface, so there are some speeches that need no introduction. Mine is not one of these. Since I have been sitting here listening to this discussion this morning, I have almost wished that I had had added to my life thirty years, and that I could say of those thirty years, that they had been devoted to this cause—as you, sir, and others here can say—that I might have the right to say what is on my lips to utter. I speak it but by your courtesy—by the courtesy of men and women who differ from me in their belief on this point—of men and women who have done their duty through all these years of time. I can only say, that if the years had been mine, I think they would have been so devoted.

I say thus much to plead my right, or rather, to beg the privilege of saying this: that I hope, as an American woman, who has given five years of earnest and constant labor to this cause, whose highest boast it is that her first speech, so to be called, was made on the Garrisonian abolition platform that this Society, on whose platform she stood then, on whose platform she stands now, will never be dissolved until there is no longer reason for me or for any one else to stand up and demand the right of any human being in this country [loud applause]. If I understand correctly, this Society was formed, not simply to give freedom to the black man, not simply to strike off the chains and manacles of the slave, but as a great public educator, to teach this nation justice and the rights of man. Has this nation so learned? Has this work been accomplished? I trow not. So long as one can see a General, the second in command of our great armies of the Union, and, so-called, of freedom, standing up deliberately in his lot and place—forcing a beaten traitor's army—yielding to it—flinging aside the gain of four years of battle and blood—trampling under foot all for which this war has been waged, virtually recognizing every traitor government in every Southern State—admitting that slavery may be once more established—and so long as there is such a state of public sentiment in this country as will lead the people to throw up their caps and hurrah when the name of SHERMAN is mentioned—so long as there is a public sentiment that will recognize this man as a good officer, a worthy citizen, a gallant soldier—so long as such a state of affairs as this exists, the work of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as an educator, has not been accomplished [applause].

The argument has been urged here that this Society can now stand aside; that this new organization, known as the Freedmen's Association, will take its place. In reply to that, I repeat, in the first place, the work of the American Anti-Slavery Society has not been accomplished; the last slave does not stand free; and I do not believe (as has been well put this morning) in striking the banner of Abolition until the banner of Slavery is trailed in the dust. But beyond this, if this assertion that these Freedmen's Associations will take care of this thing, and that this Society can disband, be true, can its members go into these other associations, one after another, and do their work there, coöperating with these new workers? Sir, if these new workers stood as earnest, as willing, as eager, to do justice to the black man as you and those who have worked with you for thirty years, they would come up to your platform, not ask you to go down to theirs [enthusiastic applause]. And beyond that, it has been asserted here that these men, represented by the presiding officer of the meeting last night, could do your work, and that you stood ready to coöperate with them. Sir, three months ago, I stood facing an audience in the city of Baltimore, an audience composed of Union men—the staunchest and firmest and truest, they told me, they had in that city. Yet among them not a black face was to be seen! In the Maryland Institute, devoted to free speech, in the Maryland Institute, in which every Union speech, so-called, has been made, not a black man could stand to plead his cause; nay, not a black man could sit to listen to my pleading. In addition to this, when, facing this audience of Union men—this audience, composing the Freedmen's Association, and the like—this audience, among whom were leading officers of the free State of Maryland—when, facing this audience, I said, simply, "I will not plead this question on the broad and everlasting ground and rock of justice, I will ask you to save yourselves, to save our country, to save our flag, to prevent rebellion and treason extending triumphantly in the future, to put the ballot in the hands that have held the bayonet, fighting for your homes"—there was not a single response among those thousands of people present. And in addition, these men, gathering about me afterwards, said I had gone altogether too far; I had said altogether too much; they were not ready for that state of affairs yet. Sir, men who so speak are not fit to have trusted in their hands, without check, without any voice to call them up higher, the fate of these four million and a half of people [applause]. Nay, more; a gentleman said to me that night, standing in the ante room of that hall (as the conversation was a public one, with a dozen or more standing round, I can repeat his assertion), "It is very well for you, a Northerner, a woman, and a Garrisonian Abolitionist, to come into this hall and face this audience and make such appeals; we cannot do it; I cannot do it; I am not ready to do it, and these people are not ready to listen." That man, sir, was the presiding officer of the meeting last night at Cooper Institute. And when you think of trusting this matter in the hands of such men, remember, as wiser lips than mine have said, "It is one thing to wish to be on the side of truth; another thing to wish to have truth on our side." These men desire to have truth on their side, because truth is popular, because truth is union and victory. You, sir, and those about you, have always desired to stand upon the side of truth. In the name of these four million and a half of blacks, in the name of humanity, in the name of truth, I ask you to keep your banner floating from the topmost peak and outer wall, and let those people come to it, not strike your colors and go down to fight with them on the plain beneath! [Tremendous applause.] For, as George Canning, I believe it was, well said in the British Parliament, when the proposition was under discussion to put this matter of legislation for the freed blacks in the hands of the old supporters of slavery, "while human nature remains the same they are not to be trusted." There is not, sir, a Union man in the South, save those who have been proscribed, hunted, torn of dogs—living the same life, fleeing from the same death, almost, as the slaves—there is not a Union man in the South, save these, with the conviction that the Union means absolute equality and justice.

And now, what do I ask of you? I have trespassed upon your time already. I have spoken some words, perhaps, that may sound as if in censure. If so, I want to say that no one more than I honors every member of this Society; no matter what stand they may take, no one more than I recognizes how my work is as a mite to their mountain; and yet I will say to them—aye, to the father of this Society—to the noblest and grandest man, almost, that America or any other country has produced [loud applause]. I will ask you, sir [turning to Mr. Garrison, who sat in the pulpit], because the slave knows you and not another, to stand at the head of the Society that is recognized the world over as his friend [great applause]. Sir, I ask that this Society, as it has stood for thirty years in the past, high above all parties and sects, so to stand in the future. And you, sir [again turning to Mr. Garrison], I ask you, sir, in the name that has embodied and represented all this, as the name that will stand when all party names and the names of all the politicians of your time shall have been swept aside—as the name that Humanity will stand up and call blessed—as the name that the freedman will mention in his prayers forever, and hand down to his children's children—I ask you, sir, to hold this standard, until God takes it out of your hands, and says, "Come up higher!" [Loud and long-continued applause.]

Mr. GARRISON—If this were a struggle about fundamental principles, it would be a grave occasion to me, and I should regard this discussion as of very considerable importance. But as there is really nothing of principle at all involved in it—as it is only a question of usefulness, only a matter of opinion whether this Society has essentially consummated its mission, as originally designed—I feel perfectly indifferent as to the manner in which it shall be decided. Nothing is more clear in my own mind, nothing has ever been more clear, than that this is the fitting time to dissolve our organization, and to mingle with the millions of our fellow-countrymen in one common effort to establish justice and liberty throughout the land [applause].

I cannot help noticing here a singular fact, that while the great body of the Executive Committee—those to whom you have entrusted the management of this Society for so many years—are entirely convinced that this is the proper time to dissolve, we have those who are not members of this Society, who in some instances have been unfriendly to it, who have suddenly become greatly interested in the preservation of the Society, and disposed to come in and rescue it from dissolution.

Mr. FOSTER—They have not appeared this morning.

Mr. GARRISON—I do not know how many have appeared this morning, *pro* or *con*, as I have been absent part of the time. But I say that Mr. Foster has not been a friend of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the sense of coöperating with it, for some time past, nor a friend of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. I say, further, that Mr. Phillips has not been friendly to THE STANDARD for a year or two past, as conducted by its present editors with the approval of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Yet THE STANDARD is the only instrument we have left to us; and that instrument he has desired to strike down, rather than have it used as it has been since this rebellion broke out. I do not think I overstate the matter.

Mr. PHILLIPS—I think you do.

Mr. GARRISON—Then correct me.

Mr. PHILLIPS—I have thought that the management of THE STANDARD should be changed. For the last two years, it has not represented the sentiment of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as expressed by the resolutions of its Conventions. I would have changed its editorship; I would not have destroyed it.

Mr. GARRISON—I mean simply to say, that on the part of several of these earnest advocates of perpetuating the Society, there has not been a coöperative spirit with the Executive Committee and with the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD; and it is, therefore, a proof that the old state of things, when we mingled together like kindred drops into one, no longer exists. We are a divided house, and it is useless to deny the fact.

In regard to the Society itself, what is its efficiency? Nothing. When did it present its last Annual Report to the public? In 1861! What agents does it send forth? None. What donations are made to its treasury? None. What means have we to continue the Society? None. The last Subscription Anniversary has been held; and that was the only source to which we could look for any pecuniary support. The Society has merely a nominal existence. Now, I am not troubled on that score, but rather filled with joy, because THE NATION has become quickened, renovated, redeemed; and the work of abolition, therefore, so far as the determined purpose of the people is concerned, is substantially accomplished. As it respects the abolition of slavery, we are no longer peculiar. Once we stood and were obliged to stand alone, and represented about all the abolition sentiment there was in the land; now the millions of people who have voted on this question, and the States that have registered their verdict for the abolition of slavery and the amendment of the Constitution, have changed the position of this nation from darkness to light, and from the rule of slavery to the triumph of liberty.

In regard to giving the black man his political rights, it is in vain for us to say that, by keeping together as a little association, we shall be peculiar witnesses in this matter; because there are hundreds of thousands of people who are with us, and who are demanding the same thing ["hear hear"]. Almost all the loyal presses at the North are in favor of going as far as ourselves, I believe, in this matter; and I will venture to say that, throughout the free States, you may go where you will, and you will find but very little opposition to that act of justice. My conviction, therefore, is, that as the abolition of slavery is substantially effected, we had better dissolve this Society, and if there be need of an organization to carry forward the effort to secure the elective franchise for those who have it not, organize such an association on that basis. Nobody will object to it, and that will be doing a specific and legitimate work. But the American Anti-Slavery Society is not a Society to be kept in existence, it seems to me, after slavery has been abolished beyond all reasonable doubt.

True, the technical objection is urged that slavery still legally exists. Well, let us see how much of slavery legally exists, and how much there is in that issue. What of slavery in the District of Columbia? That, surely, does not legally exist. What of the Fugitive Slave law? That does not exist. Any slave, held anywhere, under any form of government on our soil, can take his liberty into his own hands, and go where he pleases, and the U. S. government will not molest him or make him afraid. What of the President's Proclamation of January 1st, 1863? More than three million slaves were legally set free by it. What of slavery in Maryland? It does not exist. In Tennessee? It does not exist. In Missouri? It does not exist. In Louisiana? It does not exist. In Arkansas? It does not exist. In Kentucky? It does not exist, except as a rope of sand. And as for the small number of slaves in Delaware, what is Delaware against the overwhelming, irresistible and irreversible decree of this government and people that slavery shall die the death everywhere? What of the Constitutional Amendment? Twenty-one States have already adopted it. There is not another State to vote upon it that will not adopt it, whether it be a State in the Union now, or a reconstructed State. Every one of the reconstructed States must come in on the basis of abolitionism and will vote for the Amendment. Practically, therefore, absolutely, to all intents and purposes, slavery is dead in this country; and to object to the dissolution of this Society, on merely technical grounds, in view of such facts, is, it seems to me, not worthy of ourselves as sensible men and women.

When the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized, and until four years ago, the religious bodies of our country were against us, and against the slave; they are now for us, and for the slave, and for the extermination of the slave system. The government was then against us; it is now for us. THE PEOPLE were then against us; they are now for us. Then we held up our little torch, because it was thick darkness throughout the land, but now that the heavens are all aflame, and effulgent day has succeeded murkey night, we are admonished of the vast importance of keeping our little torch burning, as of old! [Loud applause.] Though abolition is now the most popular sentiment in the United States—though it pulls down and lifts up—though it is as irresistible as Niagara in its onward course—we are earnestly and pathetically conjured not to dissolve an association which has not the means to send an agent into the field, and which has made no Annual Report since 1861!

My friend, Mr. Phillips, as it seems to me, has forgotten how he viewed the rebellion at the outset. Let me refer to a few passages in his speeches. And I will begin with a speech delivered by him when we had no Emancipation proclamation—when we had no Anti-Slavery Amendment of the Constitution, but were under the old "covenant with death." A speech delivered at Music Hall, Boston, April 21, 1861. He then exultingly said—"For the first time in my anti-slavery life, I speak under the Stars and Stripes." Yet, did they not symbolize, at that time, "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell"?

Mr. PHILLIPS—They did.

Mr. GARRISON—Yet our friend gloried in speaking under the flag at that time!

Mr. PHILLIPS—I did.

Mr. GARRISON—But with what consistency or propriety, according to his present mode of reasoning? Further—"I welcome the tread of Massachusetts men marshalled for war!" What! To maintain "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell!" Again—"No matter what the past has been or said; to-day"—in 1861—"the slave asks God for a sight of this banner, and counts it the pledge of his redemption." So do I to-day—in 1865 [applause]. "It may have meant what you thought, or what I did. To-day"—in 1861—"it represents Sovereignty and Justice." Yet, though we have gone leagues ahead of 1861, in the way of securing justice and freedom for those in bondage, the tone of our friend Mr. Phillips is now anything but jubilant. I do not understand his logic or his philosophy.

Again: "The war is not aggressive, but in self-defence, and Washington has become the Thermopylae of Liberty and Justice." And yet, slavery was in Washington at that time; human beings were then bought and sold in the capital; the Fugitive Slave law was then everywhere enforced. But Mr. Phillips at that time looked to the inevitable results of the war, and he clearly saw what it meant—freedom for all in bonds! Again—"Massachusetts blood has consecrated the pavement of Baltimore, and those stones are now too sacred to be trodden by slaves." How prophetic! Maryland is free! "When Massachusetts goes down to that Carolina fort to put the Stars and Stripes again over its blackened walls, she will sweep from its neighborhood every institution which hazards their ever bowing again to the palmetto." That prophecy, too, has been fulfilled.

Again: "This war means one of two things—Emancipation or Disunion. Out of the smoke of the conflict there comes that—nothing else." No doubt then—what room for doubt now? We have got Emancipation, and hence there is to be no Disunion. But mark this language: "My interest in this war, *simply and exclusively as an Abolitionist*, is about as much gone as yours in a novel, *where the hero has won the lady, and the marriage has been comfortably celebrated in the last chapter.*" And this in 1861! Nay, more: "I know the danger of political prophecy; but, for all that, I venture to offer my opinion, that on this continent, *the system of domestic slavery has received its death-blow*" [applause]. Yet not a single chain had then been touched! Now we have millions rejoicing in their freedom, and the Constitution of our country unquestionably amended so as forever to ensure freedom for all on the American soil. What special need, then, of this Society as an anti-slavery instrumentality? Have we not consummated our great object? Am I not justified in saying in 1865 what my friend Mr. Phillips said 1861: "Exclusively as an Abolitionist, I have little more interest in this war than the frontiersman's wife had in his struggle with the bear, when she didn't care which side whipped" [laughter]. It was in 1861, also, that he said:

"To-day the question is, by the voice of the South, 'Shall Washington or Montgomery own the continent?' And the North says, 'From the Gulf to the Pole, the stars and stripes shall atone to four millions of negroes whom we have forgotten for seventy years; and, before you break the Union, we will see that justice is done to the slave.' All of you may not mean it now. Our fathers did not think in 1775 of the Declaration of Independence. The Long Parliament never thought of the scaffold of Charles the First, when they entered on the struggle; but, having begun, they made thorough work. It is an attribute of the Yankee blood—slow to fight, and fight once. It was a holy war, that for independence: *this is a holier and the last*—that for LIBERTY."...."There is only one thing those cannon-shot in the harbor of Charleston settled—that there never can be a compromise."

I could read a great many more such passages, all affirming that this war would effect universal emancipation, and that from the Atlantic to the Pacific, no human being would be left to pine in bondage. Hence I rejoice to believe that the American Anti-Slavery Society is no longer needed to agitate for the abolition of slavery, and that whereas it was once vitally important that our testimony should be heard, because all others were dumb; now, all over the land, voices are heard as loud, as strong, as vehement, as eloquent, in favor of universal freedom, as have ever been heard on this anti-slavery platform.

My friends, let us not any longer affect superiority when we are not superior [hear, hear]—let us not assume to be better than other people, when we are not any better [applause and cries of hear, hear]. When they are reiterating all that we say, and disposed to do all that we wish to have done, what more can we ask? And yet I know the desire to keep together, because of past memories and labors, is a very natural one. But let us challenge and command the respect of the nation, and of the friends of freedom throughout the world, by a wise and sensible conclusion. Of course, we are not to cease laboring in regard to whatever remains to be done; but let us work with the millions, not exclusively as the American Anti-Slavery Society [applause]. As co-workers are everywhere found, as our voices are everywhere listened to with approbation and our sentiments cordially endorsed, let us not continue to be isolated. My friend, Mr. Phillips, says he has been used to isolation, and he thinks he can endure it some time longer. My answer is, that when one stands alone with God for truth, for liberty, for righteousness, he may glory in his isolation. But when the principle which kept him isolated has at last conquered, then to glory in isolation seem to me no evidence of courage or fidelity [applause].

Friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, this is no "death-bed scene to me!" There are some in our ranks who seems to grow discouraged and morbid in proportion as light abounds and victory is crowning our efforts (applause); and it seems as if the hour of the triumph of universal justice is the hour for them to be the saddest and most melancholy. We have had something said about a funeral here to-day! A funeral, because Abolitionism sweeps the nation! A funeral! Nay, thanks be to God who giveth us the victory, it is a day of jubilee, and not a day to talk about funerals or death-beds! It is a resurrection from the dead, rather; it is an ascension and beatification! Slavery is in its grave, and there is no power in this nation that can ever bring it back. But if the heavens should disappear, and the earth be removed out of its place; if slavery should, by a miracle, come back—what then? We shall then have millions of supporters to rally with us for a fresh onset!

I thank you, beloved friends, who have for so many years done me the honor to make me the President of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I never should have accepted that post if it had been a popular one. I took it because it was unpopular; because we, as a body, were everywhere denounced, proscribed, outlawed. To-day, it is popular to be the President of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Hence, my connection with it terminates here and now, both as a member and as its presiding officer. I bid you an affectionate adieu.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER—*Mr. Chairman:* A very grave charge has been brought against me by the President of this Society, to which I feel I have a right to reply. It is known to you all that I have stood before the country as the professed friend of the American Anti Slavery Society; that I have been prompt in my attendance at its meetings, and taken part in its operations; and yet the President tells you that through all these years, I have been the deadly enemy of the Society, seeking its destruction. I have the right to demand the retraction of this charge, or the proof to sustain it, and I do.

A great deal of importance is attached to the Constitutional Amendment. Do you know how that came to be brought about? One year ago last Autumn, our earnest and devoted friend, Susan B. Anthony, who, with our other friend, Elizabeth C. Stanton, had been laboring for some time in this city in order to secure the passage of such an amendment by Congress, finding her funds fail, went to the city of Boston, and met the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society. After staying in Boston two or three days, I think, she came to me, with her hands hanging down, and her heart utterly discouraged. She said she could get no word of sympathy or coöperation in Boston, and was going back to New York to close her office and give up in despair. I felt very sad, revolved the matter over in my mind, and finally I said to her, the next day, "Susan, I see one ray of light. By the sacrifice of my own personal feelings, I think I can render you some assistance to go on with your work, and have resolved to make the sacrifice." Immediately I left my business—which was then pressing—started for Boston went to the house of our President, William Lloyd Garrison, and in the most earnest manner in my power besought him to lend his influence to this movement. I then went to other members of the Executive Committee, and asked their coöperation, and pledged myself to use my utmost influence with the Hovey Trust Committee, of which I was a member, to secure the appropriation of $3,000 to the treasury of the American Anti Slavery Society, to be expended by a Committee of that Society, in coöperation with a Committee of the Hovey Trust Committee, for the purpose of securing this great Amendment to the Constitution. And I was happily successful in that undertaking. Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips accepted the proposition, and the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society at last accepted it; although, Mr. Chairman, one member of that Committee, who has always been a trusted friend of this Society, said in that Committee, in my hearing, that she would throw that money into the sea, before she would use it to send out agents to secure this Amendment to the Constitution; and another member said he would sooner use the money to procure colored recruits. There is a specimen of my hostility to this Society.

Mr. Garrison says I have refused contributions to the funds of the Society. The contributions I have refused were not of my own money, but money entrusted to me by my beloved friend, Charles F. Hovey, to be expended in my best judgment, and my judgment was, that it should be expended in this great work of securing the Constitutional Amendment. Mr. Garrison says I have not contributed of my own funds; and he gives you the reason. He tells you the Society has been dead for the last four years, and I have chosen to give my money to a living movement, and not to the administrators of a dead Society.

WENDELL PHILLIPS—My friend, Mr. Garrison, observed that this is no question of principle, it is merely a question of means. Certainly that is true. But in 1833, the question of the American Anti-Slavery was not a question of principle, it was only a question of means. A man might be an Abolitionist, and work efficiently, without the principle of association; when he and his double score of coadjutors, in the city of Philadelphia, formed this Society, any man had a right to say to them then, as he says to us to-day, "This is no question of principle, gentlemen, it is only a question of means." That fact, therefore, does not place us on any different level from that which we have always occupied. A Society is merely a means.

In the remarks I made yesterday, I said the first department of this question is, "Is there anything more to do? and the second department is, Is this Society an efficient aid in doing that work?" I answer both these questions in the affirmative. There is something to do, and this organization gives us additional means of doing it. Of course, I agree most cordially with all my friend says about the amount that has been done. No man doubts that. He cannot paint the sky so bright that I will not rejoice at every line of his pencil. I agree to all that. It was cruel in him to inflict my speeches on you again [laughter]; and yet, I have not a word of those speeches to take back [applause]. I said the best thing I could at the moment. I tried to lift the public sentiment higher and higher whenever I met my fellow-citizens. Now, my complaint against THE STANDARD is, that for two years it has not done this work. My friend says all the loyal papers talk as well as THE STANDARD. They have done so for two years, and that is my complaint. As the organ of the Executive Committee, I originally instructed that paper, to announce such truth and illustrate such principle as would lift the community; I never instructed it to stand on the level of the Republican party. Now, my charge against THE STANDARD, which has no tinge of personal bitterness whatever, is, that when the community were ready for the general idea of emancipation by the War Power, THE STANDARD was—but it indicated nothing more. I went about and tried to bayonet the President into the Proclamation of Emancipation. After a while THE STANDARD advocated it. When I had gotten it, I instantly changed my base, and demanded of the people an Amendment of the Constitution. THE STANDARD staid where it was. It was some time before it took ground in favor of the Amendment of the Constitution.* Well, when the Amendment was granted, I instantly changed my base again. Having clutched from the Nation the parchment, I wanted a guarantee behind it—suffrage, and the crippling of State Rights [applause]. Now, I claim that the duty of THE STANDARD was, all this while, to have kept in the van of the Nation, and not to advocate only what four men out of five or seven men out of ten were ready for. That is the duty which, I think devolved, and now devolves, on the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Now, one word in regard to the matter of efficiency, to which Mr. Garrison alluded. He says that since 1861, we have had "a name to live, without any life." My respected friend has been here year after year to attend meetings in this church—they did not seem very dead! For the last three years, we have held meetings in Massachusetts and meetings here, under the auspices of this Society, and they never sounded dead! I appeal to any man of this audience, accustomed to go to this outside world to which my friend refers, and ask for money, if this Society is worth nothing. Suppose he should go to a merchant, converted within these two years, and say—"Sir, here is this plan for the freedmen, this for the refugees, that for agitation, that for a journal"—and suppose that merchant could look up in his face and say, "Sir, what do you want my thousand dollars for? The Anti-Slavery Society has dissolved and gone home, announcing that the work is done. If that is the fact, I have no money to give. If that flag were flying, if Mr. Garrison and the other gentlemen who have studied this question for thirty years, and have given their lives to it, said there was something more to be done, you should have my money; but if the work is done, if there is no more negro and white man, why need I go out of my counting room? I can use my money better than that." Does not such a supposition show that this Society ought not to disband while anything remains to be done? Every practical man knows that when this Society announces to the public that the work is done, it will make a difference in the pecuniary contributions of the newly-converted of 33 or 50 per cent. If this Society never had an agent again, if it never made a speech or held a meeting, it has a value beyond statement in the very fact that the just-converted man sees the pressure and personal influence standing behind it, recognizes by the fact of its very existence that it calls upon the Nation to complete the work. These men are willing, anxious to put their contributions into a channel where disinterested and prudent men allow that there is something still to be done. I will allow Mr. Garrison all he claims, that we have no reports, no agents, no money, and I will place on your platform disinterested witnesses to testify, that in the cities of Philadelphia, Boston and New York, their hands would be held up in filling the treasuries of these auxiliary associations by the fact of our existence, and that they would be materially crippled by the announcement through the New York press that this Society considered the cause of the Negro race on this continent finished. I say, brothers in this Anti-Slavery work, that this is the practical use of this organization, even were it what Mr. Garrison represents.

Mr. Garrison tells you Kentucky is all right—practically free—laughs at any troubles. I will read you a letter:

"LOUISVILLE, KY., APRIL 28, 1865.

"'If slavery could only get'—mark you! not 'slavery has got' 'its death-blow in this State, it seems to me the end of it might be taken for granted. But just let Wm. Lloyd Garrison step out here if he wants to see slavery and its outrages still in full blast.'"

Mr. GARRISON—But in 1861, the death-blow was given to slavery everywhere, as our friend testified!

Mr. PHILLIPS—Can I not grow wiser? [Applause.]

Mr. GARRISON—The growing wiser consists in this: that in 1861, when not a fetter had been touched anywhere, it was declared that the death-blow had been given; but when, everywhere, chains are rent asunder, my friend feels that there is a great deal more to be done.

Mr. PHILLIPS—Let me read on:—"I am glad to see that Wendell Phillips still insists on keeping up the Society." [This letter was not addressed to me, but has been handed to me by a friend.] "Numerous instances have come to my knowledge of rebels beating their slaves in this city for expressing sentiments of grief at the death of the President, and the military authorities, so far as I know, have taken no means for their punishment."

In the city of Louisville, black men in chains are whipped for expressing grief at the assassination of President Lincoln, and no arm of authority is stretched out to shield them—and yet this Society asks leave to dissolve! So much for Louisville.

My friend says Delaware is a handkerchief State. Well, I have no scales to weigh sins. This Society did not arrange itself to free four millions of slaves; it arranged itself to free the slaves, to abolish the system. So long as any number of slaves remain, there is work; so long as the system of slavery remains, there is work. But what does Delaware say? This letter is written to me, and dated May 4, 1865. It is from one of the most earnest workers, a man high in office, tireless, indefatigable, disinterested, self-sacrificing:

"Pardon me, my dear sir, if I express the pleasure that the announcement of your action concerning the American Anti-slavery Society has given me. While 'Delaware and Kentucky (and you might have added New Jersey) remain as slave States, it is no time to disband.' If your Society has no other work, let them be kind enough to lend us a helping hand. In this State, the spirit of slavery is more determined and desperate than ever, contesting every inch of ground. You have seen enough of our leading anti-slavery men to know that they lack neither courage nor perseverance, but they are overborne by the numbers of the opposition, and disheartened by the indifference of the Administration heretofore. If our anti-slavery friends in the east would only direct their efforts to this State, I am quite sure that our next election would give us a Legislature that would ratify the Constitutional Amendment."

Shall we dissolve, while a man battling on the outskirts of the question in a slave State still asks us to keep together and hold up his hands? What right have we to dissolve?

It is entirely accidental that I should be able to present to you these two letters, from the very States referred to by my friend. They beg us, for their sakes, not to disband. They do not think us so very small; we are enlarged in their vision. At any rate, we are a banner, a principle, a symbol, a something that enheartens their courage and strengthens their hands. Why pull it down? It is not a question of the formation, it is a question of the continuance of a Society. Why should it not be continued?

I might go all round the board, giving the same testimonies. In the very STANDARD where my friend the editor, sitting in our chair, announces that there is no work to do, I find printed the opinion of no less a man than George Bancroft. He has studied history to some advantage, and instead of saying, as my friend the editor does, "slavery is gone, there is no work for us to do," the orator of the Loyal League says—"It is a great delusion to say slavery is dead. She is marshaling her hosts for the last dread effort." I ask you, Abolitionists, with such testimony, whether it ever hangs in doubt that slavery is dead or not? But did we pledge ourselves in that Constitution that we would *perhaps* abolish slavery? that we would end our work when it was a matter of debate whether slavery was

* I solemnly declare that these statements of Mr. Phillips are not true. The STANDARD did *not* wait for "the general community to get ready," but, from the inst

abolished? If I have proved nothing else, I have proved at least that it is not a settled question. The jury have not rendered their verdict, the court has not given judgment. What right, then, have we to dissolve, under our pledges? My friend paints the picture so bright, that he forgets that, in regard to the law of the question, we are yet all loose. I wait to see the announcement of the power that has the right to declare the law—why should you not wait? More than that, I should wait to know that practically the Union power had reached to the waves of the Gulf of Mexico, and there was not a slave actually in the hands of a master. When, I know that the flag floats everywhere in the sight of the negro, and that the Amendment is in the Constitution, then I will allow that the dissolution of this Society is an open question. Now I object to my friend Mr. May's proposed amendment, for this reason. I want to meet this question squarely, as my friend, Mr. Garrison, presents it. If you are in favor of his resolution, say so—my conscience is discharged. But if you are not in favor of it, say so, and leave us the Society. When, six, eight, or twelve months hence, the Secretary of State announces that the amendment is ratified, and is a part of the law, then the Executive Committee, looking over the continent, noticing and appreciating that the parchment ratification is a fact, will know whether the time for dissolution has come or not. We are competent to be trusted with that question, just as other Executive Committees have been. If it is necessary, we will call you together (if I happen to be on the continent) and submit it to the Abolitionists of the country. But do not tie our hands to it. Time enough for us to talk of dissolution when the enemy has sent in his notice of surrender. He has not sent it in yet. I would not really, in my heart, have this Society dissolve until South Carolina is whipped into decency and Christianity. That is a long time ahead. That is my philosophy; but I submit to the judgment of others; and it may be that, far this side of that, when the law is all right, and the black man stands without a fetter, it will be your conviction that the Society should dissolve. I do not know—but I assert that, to day, the aw is just as much against you as it was on the 4th of Dec., 1833, and every lawyer will tell you so. You cannot, therefore, dissolve, consistently with your pledge. And as for the substantial system itself, it covers, to say the least, half a million of slaves to-day, whom our armies have not yet reached to free. No time, therefore, to dissolve. We keep together, because we want the country to understand there is work to be done. We keep together to do it. The treasury is not empty. You can carry on the STANDARD with the money now in the hands of the Treasurer, for four months. Poverty will not compel us to dissolve. There is no argument in it [applause]. We stand here to-day with reputation and funds and voices and hands to put slavery sixty fathoms deeper than plummet ever sounded; and while we have voices, and the treasury has funds, and it is possible to keep that flag, which means thirty-five years of experience, flying, the American Anti-Slavery Society has a right to speak. My friend says it is presumption, it is self-conceit. I do not read it so. There is a false humility; and he will let me say, that he himself, having given his life and intellect to this question, does not stand like the lordliest statesmen of this country, who have been converted to it within the last two or three years. They are his pupils, and ought to be, and it is not presumption in him to say to them, "Gentlemen, I understand this subject better than you do." My old law professor at college used to say, "Gentlemen, it is not conceit for me, who have studied law for sixteen hours out of the twenty-four for twenty years, to say that I know law better than you do." I hold that it is neither presumption nor self-conceit for a body of men, who for twenty-five years have given to this question all the intellect God ever gave them, to say to the country, "We are competent to advise and counsel you on a question of this magnitude, when the great issue of its settlement is in debate." I repudiate the idea of conceit or presumption. We do not stand fused and melted into the general public. Our friend, Miss Dickinson, said truthfully—and she referred to the same honest, disinterested, intelligent and patriotic individual that I did in my yesterday's speech [Judge Bond, of Md.]—that, honored as he deserves to be for his labors in the State of Maryland, patriotic and devoted as he has been, he knows that he is not at liberty, as a wise and prudent man, to stand before his community and claim what this Society claims to-day. Now, it is out of that kind of material that these new Societies are, very properly, constructed. But we are not to go down and put ourselves into their chains. The Senator of Mass. stood here this morning. The last time I met him on this slavery question was in the city of Washington, in consultation with some twenty or thirty members of the House and Senate, and this very question of suffrage was the one in debate; and the vast majority of gentlemen there said, with their own lips, "We don't accept this idea of suffrage. It is an idle abstraction; it is a sentimental impossibility. Nobody can venture, before this community, to stand upon it. We stood alone—myself and a friend whom I have in my eye; a couple of men, without office, with no power, except that which the anti-slavery body behind them gave to them. But to-day assemble those same men, in that same chamber, and four-fifths of them will say, as Henry Wilson did this morning, "We go for giving every man the ballot" [applause]. What converted them? I do not say we did, but I say we did our share towards it. I say we were a large rill in the river that bears their gallant barks on to-day; that river is not yet so lordly that it can afford to spare the smallest rill; and I am for keeping all the sluices, even our little channel, open, to swell the flood on which the State shall float into a safe harbor.

I tell you, Abolitionists, that, although I have been quoted as reflecting upon the Vice-President, I believe in him. Ah! it is God's providence that gives us his right hand on the helm of government to-day [applause]. I think that, amid the many gracious mercies bestowed by the Divine hand on our late President Abraham Lincoln, the hour of his death was the greatest. "Felix non vitæ tantum claritate sed etiam opportunitate mortis"—"Happy in the moment of his death, as in the lustre of his life." As the Roman said, for he died at that exact moment when all the qualities with which God had gifted him had been exhausted in the service of the nation. We needed a sterner hand in these opening hours; we needed a brain and a heart fitted and inspired by domestic peril and bitter experience for the dread responsibilities to which this crime opens the way. I have never expressed a doubt in regard to President Johnson. I believe in him. I believe he means suffrage. But I believe that, if you were to ask him to-day, here on this platform, "Sir, can we do anything to help you by keeping together, or shall we separate and melt into the general public?" he would say, with my correspondent from Delaware, and my correspondent from Ky., "For God's sake, hang together, and hold my hands up" [applause]! He knows that his Administration has none too great strength, and that if we can give him an iota, he cannot afford to lose it. But I will not prolong my remarks. I hold here another letter, from Syracuse, in this Staet signed by Charles D B. Mills, an efficient and devoted friend, for twenty years—too long to be read at this hour—in which he repeats, with the same earnestness of expression, the hope that this Society will not dissolve, but will go on until, in his view, the work to which we pledged ourselves is accomplished.

MARY GREW—I rise to say, that if the Society is ready now to have this question taken, I am ready to have it taken; but if the discussion is to proceed, I would like to say a few words.

Mr. GARRISON moved that the question be taken on the resolution offered by Mr. May as a substitute for his own, and the question having been put, the substitute was declared lost.

On motion of Mr. GARRISON, it was voted that the question on his resolution be taken by Yeas and Nays.

OLIVER JOHNSON, from the Committee on the Roll, reported a list of members, and it was accepted, with the understanding that further names might be subsequently added.

Mr. GARRISON then read his resolution, and the roll was called, with the following result: Yeas, 48; Nays, 118. So the resolution was rejected. The announcement of the vote was received with loud and prolonged applause.

Mr. GARRISON then offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That in the removal, by death, since the last anniversary of this Society, of THOMAS WHITSON, of Pennsylvania, one of the signers of the Anti-Slavery Declaration of Sentiments in 1833, the cause of the bondmen has lost as upright, faithful, true-hearted and unfaltering a supporter as ever gave to it his hand, his heart, and his benefaction; and this Society one of its earliest, most beloved, and most appreciated members; and we shall ever cherish in our memories his rare worth and sterling integrity.

Resolved, That in the death of Rev. SAMUEL AARON, of New Jersey, and of the Hon. NATHANIEL B. BORDEN, of Massachusetts, the anti-slavery cause has also lost two of its long-tried and devoted friends—the former having been among its most eloquent, intrepid and powerful advocates, and the latter distinguished for his generous hospitality and noble uprightness of character.

The following resolution, submitted by OLIVER JOHNSON, was also unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society are hereby tendered to Mr. Sigismund Lasar, organist, and to each member of the Choir, whose appropriate and excellent musical performances contributed so much to the interest and impressiveness of the Anniversary meeting on Tuesday morning.

GEORGE THOMPSON—I would venture to bring to the notice of the meeting two deaths which have recently occurred on the other side of the water, of men who for their liberal contributions in England, with special reference to this country, and for their incessant labors, by their voices and their presses, to the very last hours of their lives, in the cause of Emancipation and Union on these shores, deserve some tribute at your hands at this time. It will be a satisfaction to your friends in England to know that their virtue and worth are recognized by this assembly. I am not prepared with any formal resolutions, and I will simply move, that you record the expression of your deep regret at the death, during the last year, of SAMUEL LUCAS, Esq., the principal proprietor, from the commencement, of the London *Star* newspaper, and of WASHINGTON WILKES, Esq., its principal editor; I myself being able to testify, and there are others present, I believe, who can confirm what I say, that the cause of this country and of human rights had never more disinterested and seldom more gifted friends.

Mr. THOMPSON's motion passed unanimously.

Mr. FOSTER, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers for the ensuing year:

President.
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Vice-Presidents.
GERRIT SMITH, New York.
GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D., New York.
JAMES MOTT, Pennsylvania.
MARY GREW, Pennsylvania.
JOHN G. WHITTIER, Massachusetts.
BENJAMIN SNOW, Jr., Massachusetts.
PETER LIBBEY, Maine.
NATHANIEL WHITE, New Hampshire.
ELIZABETH B. CHASE, Rhode Island.
ABBY SMITH, Connecticut.
LUCY STONE, New Jersey.
THOMAS GARRETT, Delaware.
MARIUS R. ROBINSON, Ohio.
WM. HOPKINS, Indiana.
THOMAS CHANDLER, Michigan.
CAROLINE L. MORGAN, Wisconsin.
ALONZO J. GROVER, Illinois.
Rev. CALEB GREEN, Minnesota.
LOT HOLMES, Iowa.
GEORGE W. BENSON, Kansas.
Dr. J. N. HAWKS, South Carolina.
N. C. DENNETT, Florida.

Corresponding Secretary.
CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

Recording Secretary.
AARON M. POWELL.

Executive Committee.
WENDELL PHILLIPS.
BOURNE SPOONER.
JOHN T. SARGENT.
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL.
SARAH J. NOWELL.
CAROLINE R. PUTNAM.
GEORGE L. STEARNS.
ABBY K. FOSTER.
E. D. HUDSON.
EDWARD M. DAVIS.
ROBERT PURVIS.
C. R. REASON.

The announcement of Mr. Garrison's name as President was received with tumultuous applause, and Mr. Foster stated that the nomination was unanimous on the part of the Committee.

The report of the Committee was accepted.

Mr. GARRISON—I really do not understand this. I accept it in the spirit of kindness in which it has manifestly been tendered, but I do not understand why it should have been done, when I have given the reasons, which are all conclusive in my own mind, why I cannot any longer act with the Society. I do not deem it a matter that requires any consideration. I must, of course, decline to serve as President of the Society, after having taken the ground that I do, that it would be better for the Society to dissolve. But I am very much obliged to you for this expression of your confidence.

The declination of Mr. Garrison, thus so imperatively made, was accepted, and WENDELL PHILLIPS was elected President, and took the Chair amid great applause.

Mr. PHILLIPS—I can only say, ladies and gentlemen, that grateful as I am for this mark of your kind regard, I have never passed from one moment to another with greater grief than in listening to the announcement of the immovable purpose of Mr. Garrison, to decline the honor which was so lovingly and unanimously accorded to him by the vote of this Society. I would have added my own urgent wish to the unanimous wish of the Committee, of which I was a member, if I had thought it respectful to do so. But in accepting the office which you confer upon me, I do it deeply regretting that he should have thought it necessary, after so unanimous an expression of opinion as we have just seen, to decline to allow us still further the bulwark of his name. Will you allow me to turn aside, for a moment, from the duty of a Chairman, and to offer a resolution on this occasion, expressive of our feelings, for the adoption of the Society?

Resolved, That we have heard with the most profound sadness the decision of our revered and beloved leader and late President to decline a reëlection to that office—that we submit to his decision, having in vain tried to change it, with the greatest regret; and we desire to seize this opportunity to testify our deep and grateful sense of the vast and immeasurable sevices which his thirty-five years' of tireless devotion to the cause have rendered to the slave and the country; that we have no words adequate to express our sense of the debt we owe, as individuals, to his counsel and labors; and that all coming time will recognize him as the real Liberator of the American Slave, and will do justice to the wide and beneficial influence he has had on his age here and throughout the world: and history will keep a prouder record for Democratic Institutions, in that they have shown themselves capable of producing so independent, magnanimous, heroic and thoroughly Christian patriot and man.

Mr. FOSTER moved the adoption of the resolution, and that the question be taken by a rising vote. The question was put, and the resolution carried unanimously, the entire assembly rising.

Mr. GARRISON—I desire to express the grateful feelings of my heart in view of this fresh testimony from this Society. I can only say, that though I shall not be with you as a member of the Society any longer, I shall be with you in the spirit which seeks to remove every fetter, and to give full and complete justice to all who are oppressed in our country. You have chosen, by a decided majority, to continue the Society I beg of you not to make it a mere formality, as it has been of late. I hope, if you are in earnest, that you will endeavor to see that it is made useful—and you will unquestionably, if you are in earnest; and I trust that you may be able to do a great deal of good, beyond anything that I can now see or anticipate. I shall work with you, I shall work with the nation, with the people, with the millions, with the government (applause) in the effort to secure full justice to every man who has a colored complexion in our country, whether he is now in bonds, or whether he is free. God's blessing rest upon you! [Loud applause.]

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.—I wish now to offer a resolution in connection with the one just passed in relation to our retiring President.

Resolved, That this Society regards it as a duty, as it is its pleasure, to acknowledge the eminent ability and moral fidelity with which its organ, the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, has been conducted from the first, and at every period of its existence for the term of twenty-five full years; especially does the Society at this time contemplate with satisfaction and approval the wise forecast, the just discrimination, the faithful criticism, the generous appreciation of every advance in favor of freedom made by the American government and people, which have characterized the paper during the eventful and perilous four years of the war; and, in taking leave of its retiring Editors, the Society tenders to them the assurance of its sincerest respect and hearty gratitude.

Mr. FOSTER moved the reference of the resolution to the Executive Committee.

[We regret the necessity which requires the remainder of the report to be deferred till next week.]

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1865.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI SLAVERY CONVENTION

THE Annual NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION will be held in Boston, at the MELODEON, on WEDNESDAY, May 31st, at 10 o'clock, a.m.

Questions of great importance and interest, in relation to the final Abolition of Slavery in the United States, will doubtless come before the Convention. All the old members of it, and all persons interested, are invited to attend.

By order of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. EDMUND QUINCY, Pres.

R. F. WALCUT,
SAMUEL MAY, JR., } Secretaries.

TO THE READERS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

MY labors as Resident Editor of this Journal end with the present number. I have occupied this post for twelve years—from 1853 to 1858 as the associate of Mr. SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, and from 1858 to the present time alone. My duties, though exceedingly arduous, have been very pleasant, for my heart has been in them as well as my head and my hands, and I have had sympathy, encouragement and support from men and women with whom to be associated in so glorious a cause was at once a privilege and an honor. I came to this editorial chair under the black shadow cast over the whole land by the Fugitive Slave law of 1850, and when the Demon of Slavery was enthroned in Church and State; I leave it now when that Demon is under the feet of the American people, and with the music of broken fetters and the jubilee shouts of millions of ransomed slaves ringing in my ears. The great object for which this paper was established, and for which I have toiled and prayed from dewy youth to more than manhood's prime is attained, and I am happy!

It will be seen from the proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, herewith published, that the proposition of Mr. Garrison, the President, to dissolve the Society, was voted down by a large majority, and that the Society is to go on under a new administration. While it is undoubtedly true that a majority of the members present were opposed to a dissolution of the Society at the present time, the list of those who voted on that side, if published (as it ought to have been, together with the yeas), would be found to embrace the names of not a few whose right to vote at all was more than questionable, and of several whose owners, if they had not been wanting in self-respect, would have felt themselves precluded from taking any part whatever in the settlement of the question—persons, who have not for many years coöperated with the Society, but who have persistently opposed and traduced it and its managers. Some, who had never been known as Abolitionists of our school, but only as politicians, and who, when the Society was breasting the wave of popular odium and reproach, never gave it the slightest support or countenance, seeing now, as they thought, an opportunity to make it an agent for the promotion of party ends, took advantage of the liberal terms of membership to enrol their names and cast their votes. Of this, however, I do not complain, for I think it a righteous retribution upon the Society for the loose and unbusiness-like way in which it has conducted its proceedings.

Among those who voted against Mr. Garrison's proposition were some of his oldest and truest friends, who differed from him with heartfelt regret, but whose convictions of duty were as strong as his own. They clung to the Society with warm affection, as the symbol of past sacrifices and struggles in the cause of the slave; and while they had no doubt that slavery was virtually dead, and that the Constitutional Amendment would be completely ratified in a few months, they felt that the Society ought to keep together until that ratification should be officially proclaimed. Between this class and those who voted for dissolution there was a harmony of feeling, a mutual respect for each other's opinions and motives, which nothing in the future is likely to disturb. The question whether the Society should dissolve now or in the near future was not in itself of much consequence, and could never have produced any serious division among its members and friends. But, while this was the question, and the only question, in the minds of a majority of those voting against dissolution, it was not so with all. The time, it seems to me, has come, when it should be frankly stated, for the information of Abolitionists who have not often found opportunity to attend Anniversary gatherings, as well as of friendly outsiders, that there has existed in the Society for a considerable time a small but busy clique, who, finding that Mr. Garrison interposed a steady and firm resistance to their imprudences and extravagances of speech and action, have labored diligently to undermine the confidence of Abolitionists not merely in his judgment, but in his fidelity to the cause. In their private talk they have spoken of him as an "old fogy," fit no longer to lead the anti-slavery host, while in annual meetings and conventions they have raised invidious issues, begetting contentions and strifes which made the judicious grieve for the reproach thus cast upon the cause. Mr. Garrison's course during the war has been particularly obnoxious to these reckless iconoclasts, who could never see anything good in the government, nor find any ground for hope that slavery would be abolished by its agency. Mr. Garrison, while careful to bear his testimony against every act of the government that was inconsistent with anti-slavery principles, and to claim for the negro all his rights as a man and a citizen, felt it to be his duty to temper criticism with justice and candor, to make honest and even generous allowance for the embarrassments under which the government labored, and to check the tendency to indiscriminate and reckless denunciation, which seemed to increase in certain quarters in proportion to the constantly brightening prospect that slavery was about to be utterly exterminated. He was convinced by the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, that President Lincoln, though slow, was sure, and that it was his purpose to destroy slavery, root and branch; and his confidence in that noble and far-seeing man has been most signally justified.

As the Presidential election of 1864 drew nigh, Mr. Garrison saw the danger of a Copperhead triumph through a division in the loyal party of the North, and believing that union upon any other candidate was impossible, he lent his powerful support to Mr. Lincoln, and rebuked the reckless "radicalism" which, in the name of liberty, was making itself the tool of slavery. The Fremont movement entrapped some noble and honest men, but Mr. Garrison was not among them. The support which he gave to the Administration at this critical period was of immense value, but it exposed him to fresh imputations from the clique above alluded to, some of whom carried their folly so far as to maintain that the cause of liberty had more to hope from the Cleveland Convention, with John Cochrane for President and manager, than from the American Anti-Slavery Society, inspired and led by Garrison! The call of that Convention contained not one anti-slavery line or word, nor even a remote allusion to the slavery question, and was nothing but a rehash of the Copperhead cries against the Administration; and yet there were Abolitionists deluded enough to point to it as "an effort for a radical and true politics," or, in the words of a prominent champion of the movement, an effort to "lift American politics into the sphere of morals and religion."

We allude to this matter now, not to fight over again the battle with the Fremont movement, but simply to explain the division in the anti-slavery ranks which has culminated at last in a revolution in the American Anti Slavery Society and its organ. Mr. Garrison, having come to the conclusion that the time had arrived for a dissolution of the Society, announced his determination beforehand to terminate his official relations with it at the recent annual meeting. A majority of the Executive Committee also declined a reëlection. Here was an opportunity, which Mr. Garrison's opponents eagerly embraced, to gain possession of the Society. Rallying all their forces, finding allies in many outsiders, and following the skillful leadership of Wendell Phillips, they easily attained their object. It was inevitable, under such circumstances, after the Society refused to dissolve that it should fall under their management. Those of Mr. Garrison's friends, however, who voted against dissolution, did not generally perceive this, and were not a little surprised when the fact was made known to them.

Next came a farce such as is rarely enacted on any stage. Having so constituted the Executive Committee that he and those who agreed with him could have no voice in the management of the Society, they tendered to Mr. Garrison, in the face of his positive determination to retire from the office, a reëlection to the Presidency! They knew, of course, that he would decline; that, to say nothing of his fixed determination to withdraw, he could not, with decent self-respect, consent to be the mere figure-head of a Society in whose management he was no longer to have a voice. On the part of the great majority, who did not understand the true state of the case, the vote to reëlect him was a heartfelt tribute of honor and reverence, and Mr. Garrison accepted it in the same spirit; but the nomination was made for effect, and in the expectation that it would be declined, as the subsequent proceedings clearly showed. It was a piece of stage-play that deceived no one who understood the real facts of the case. The resolution complimentary to Mr. Garrison, that immediately followed, was seconded by a man who has for years been opposed to the administration of the Society and unfriendly to the STANDARD, and in whose eyes the *Liberator*, a little more than a year ago, was so pernicious that he could do nothing to promote its circulation, and was even doubtful if it were not a sin to countenance it so far as to pay the postage on it when it was sent to him as a gratuity!

The animus of the Society under the new administration may be inferred from the disposition it made of a resolution introduced by Rev. Samuel May, Jr., as follows:

Resolved, That this Society regards it as a duty, as it is its pleasure, to acknowledge the eminent ability and moral fidelity with which its organ, the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, has been conducted from the first, and at every period of its existence, for the term of twenty-five full years; especially does the Society at this time contemplate with satisfaction and approval the wise forecast, the just discrimination, the faithful criticism, the generous appreciation of every advance in favor of freedom made by the American government and people, which have characterized the paper during the eventful and perilous four years of the war; and, in taking leave of its retiring editors, the Society tenders them the assurance of its sincerest respect and hearty gratitude.

In order to prevent a discussion of this resolution, Stephen S. Foster promptly moved that it be referred to the Executive Committee—a motion tantamount, of course, to laying it upon the table, since that Committee, as newly constituted, does not approve of the manner in which the STANDARD has been conducted during the last year. The motion would have been fair enough if the motive for making it had been honestly avowed, or generally understood. The time was singularly unfavorable for intelligent action upon any subject. The session had been prolonged from 10 o'clock, a.m. to 3 p.m.; the vote on the question of dissolution had just been taken after an exciting debate; many members of the Society had gone out for food and fresh air, and the house was in a state of general inattention and confusion. The vote upon the motion was so even that a count was called for, when 24 were declared to have voted in the affirmative and 23 in the negative. Some of those voting in the affirmative said afterwards that they misunderstood the motion, supposing the reference was to the *Business* Commitee, and that the resolution would come up for discussion afterwards; others expressed surprise when told that the new Executive Committee was unfriendly to the STANDARD, as hitherto conducted, and said they would have voted against the motion if they had understood its effect. Warm friends of the STANDARD failed to vote at all, not comprehending, in the confusion, what was going on. I am perfectly sure that the resolution, if it had been introduced under favorable circumstances and discussed upon its merits, would have been adopted by a large majority.

So far as the action of the Society upon this resolution affects myself, I have nothing to say; but I cannot forbear to remark that, as concerning the late Corresponding Editor, it was an ungrateful requital of his invaluable labors for the last twenty-one years. Mr. Quincy's contributions to this journal, by their fine literary character and masterly treatment of the slavery question in all its aspects, have won the admiration of the friends of freedom at home and abroad, and given the STANDARD a high rank among the newspapers of the country; and it is a shame that the Society should have virtually put under the table a resolution making suitable acknowledgment of his services. Nothing that the new Executive Committee may do, as an afterthought, can be an equivalent for what was due from the Society itself.

The part of the resolution specially obnoxious to those who avoided a discussion of it in the way above described was that which commended the STANDARD for its "generous appreciation of every advance in favor of freedom made by the American government and people during the eventful and perilous four years of the war." They allege, on the contrary, that it has been, particularly during the past year, a partisan of the Administration. Nothing could please me better than a fair opportunity to take the verdict, upon this issue, of the readers and the Society; but that was precisely what my accusers were anxious to avoid, for they knew right well that a large majority of all the active members of the Society who voted against dissolution loved the STANDARD and held the charge of partisanship to be without just foundation. Having been denied an opportunity to meet this charge before the Society, I must be permitted here, on behalf of my associate and myself, to plead "not guilty," and appeal to the readers of the paper to decide between us and our accusers. I frankly confess that when I saw the Slave Power concentrating upon the head of our now martyred President the full tide of its malignity, I was anxious to think as well as I could of his Administration; that I did not deem it the part of wisdom to magnify its short-comings upon minor and incidental points, while its purpose to exterminate slavery from every inch of American soil was daily and hourly manifested before all the people. I felt it to be my duty to temper criticism with justice, candor and generosity, believing that in this way, rather than by indiscriminate denunciation and abuse, the STANDARD would exert the best influence upon the people and the government.

The course of the paper during the last Presidential election was regulated by the principles which have ever been the guide of Abolitionists in their political relations. Its main reliance was then, as it ever had been, upon those moral and spiritual weapons which are mighty through God for the overthrow of every form of iniquity. It took no part in the movements of parties, but waited, as usual, for the parties to present their candidates and platforms, and then it tried those candidates and platforms by anti-slavery tests as old as the cause itself. It could not, without treachery to the cause it served, fail to expose and denounce the attempt made at Cleveland to win the support of the Copperhead Democracy for Fremont by the adoption of a platform in which anti-slavery was reduced to an infinitesimal quantity, while the accusations of the Copperheads against the Administration—accusations which had their origin and motive in a pro-slavery spirit—were taken up and endorsed. When the leaders of that movement presented Fremont and McClellan to the country as "twin cherries on one stem," declaring their readiness to support either, according to circumstances, the STANDARD manifested the indignation which such a spectacle was fitted to excite. On the other hand, it recognized, as it was bound to do, the fact that the Baltimore platform denounced slavery as "the cause and strength of the rebellion," and declared that "its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic" was demanded by "justice and the national safety"; and that it approved and endorsed the emancipation Proclamation, and declared itself in favor of "such an Amendment to the Constitution as should terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States." Except negro suffrage, here was all that the American Anti-Slavery Society had ever demanded. If, in 1856, Abolitionists were justified in desiring the election of Fremont upon the platform of non-extension, and in 1860 that of Lincoln upon the same platform, how much more were they justified in desiring the reëlection of the latter in 1864, after he had emancipated 3,000,000 slaves by his great Proclamation, and avowed his determination "UTTERLY TO EXTIRPATE SLAVERY FROM THE SOIL OF THE REPUBLIC"? How could the Editors of the STANDARD, with any show of consistency or decency, fail to recognize with gratitude and exultation this new position of the party which supported the Administration? In doing so they were not the partisans of Lincoln, but of the cause they were set to defend. Was Wendell Phillips the partisan of Lincoln in 1860, when, immediately after the election of that year, he exclaimed in the presence of an enthusiastic assembly, "For the first time in our history the *slave* has chosen a President of the United States"? If this was true in 1860, how much more was it true in 1864? It follows then, that the STANDARD, in favoring the reëlection of Lincoln, was working with and for the slave. Its partisanship had "this extent, no more."

But "partizanship for Lincoln" is not all of which the Editors of the STANDARD have been accused. They have been charged before the Executive Committee with "fraud," and with having brought "disgrace" upon the Society, by disobedience to its instructions! The author of this charge is Wendell Phillips, who cites as his proof the following resolution, adopted by the Society last year on his motion:

Resolved, That while we do not criticize the wishes of the Administration, still, as Abolitionists, we feel bound to declare that we see no evidence of its purpose to put the freedom of the negro on such a basis as will secure it against every peril.

The phrase "putting the freedom of the negro on such a basis as will secure it against every peril" was explained by Mr. Phillips to mean negro suffrage; and he contends that this resolution, passed before either of the political parties had made its nominations or set up its platform, bound the STANDARD, in any event, to a neutral course as between Lincoln and Fremont! And he says that the Editors, in disregarding this instruction, committed a "fraud" upon the Society and made its organ a "disgrace." This preposterous charge, I am happy to say, found no support in the Executive Committee save that of Mr. Phillips himself, and it will be scouted as absurd by every reflecting mind. The resolution is not, in any sense, a resolution of instruction to the Editors of the STANDARD, and if it were, it would not help Mr. Phillips's argument in the least, for they have never violated it. It was not pretended by them at any time that Mr. Lincoln was for negro suffrage. The favor which they showed him was upon other grounds altogether, viz: upon the various anti-slavery acts of his Administration, and because he was pledged to the utter extirpation of slavery. The simple truth is, that the question of negro suffrage, as connected with the rehabilitation of the rebel States, was not directly involved in the last Presidential election. The Cleveland Convention was wholly silent respecting it, only declaring that "the Federal Constitution should be so amended as to secure to all men equality before the law." Now, admitiing that the phrase "equality before the law" includes suffrage, this plank of the Cleveland platform did not pledge its supporters to give the ballot to the negro, at the time of reconstruction, but implied, on the contrary, the necessity of an alteration of the Constitution before that measure could be carried into effect! The Presidential struggle, moreover, was not between Lincoln and Fremont, but between Lincoln and McClellan; and I maintain that the course pursued by the STANDARD in that contest was not the dictate of partisanship but of the time-honored principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society. On this point I fearlessly appeal to the conscience and common sense of Abolitionists in every part of the country, and I am willing to abide their verdict. This charge of partisanship is itself partisan. For the first time in the history of the Anti Slavery Movement, Mr. Phillips came to the Anniversary last year as a politician, to promote the interest of a favorite candidate. In previous years he had taken no part in the management of parties, but, in common with his associates upon the anti-slavery platform, had always waited for the parties to make their nominations, and then passed judgment upon them impartially in the light of anti-slavery principles. Now, however, he was himself directly engaged in working the party machinery, and it would seem that it was his desire and purpose, if possible, to control the STANDARD in the interest of his favorite candidate. The charge of partisanship, against the Editors of this paper, I take leave to say, comes with an ill grace from the man who thus left the time-honored and well-worn anti-slavery track to become a political manager.

The members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society at a distance will not be able to understand the revolution that has just taken place in its management unless I add, that in consequence of the difference of opinion between himself and the Editors upon the subject above alluded to, Mr. Phillips refused during the last year to take part in any effort to raise the funds necessary to keep the STANDARD alive. The last Subscription Festival had no assistance from him or his partisans, but encountered their indifference or opposition.

I sincerely wish that I had been spared the necessity of making these statements in the very moment when I am taking my leave of the readers of this paper. But I owed it to them not less than to myself to explain the cause of the revolution that has taken place in the Society. If opportunity had been afforded, the substance of what I have now written would have formed a part of the discussions of the annual meeting. It is a chapter of anti-slavery history which, however disagreeable, it was necessary to write for the information of Abolitionists, and to keep them from being mystified by passing events. It is in no respect exaggerated, but rather an under-statement of the truth.

If the Society had been united in other respects, the question of dissolution could never have been either the cause or the occasion of division; for that is not a question of principle, but only of expediency. In the judgment of Mr. Garrison, the proper time for dissolution had arrived, but if our meetings had been harmonious, he would doubtless have been willing to remain at the head of the Society as long as the majority might wish him to do so. The wisdom of his retirement, under the circumstances, will no doubt be vindicated in due time, to the satisfaction of all his friends; and we believe it will increase the respect felt for him by the truest and wisest friends of liberty throughout the world, and augment his influence in shaping the future of our country.

Thank God, the work of Abolitionists, so far as slavery is concerned, is done. Why run the mill after the grist is out? What if the Constitutional Amendment is not yet tied up in the official red tape? There is nothing that Abolitionists can do to make its ratification more certain. Society action is no more needful to this end than to ensure the vernal equinox or the next eclipse, or to make fire burn, or water run down hill.

"Our nation's free! our nation's free!
Proclaim the glorious jubilee!
Sublimely let its echoes roll,
And thrill with music to the soul."

The Abolitionists who have borne the heat and burden of the anti-slavery struggle have now no distinctive function. They should not, it seems to me, persist in occupying an isolated position, but rejoice in the opportunity to mingle with others in the great work of giving the emancipated slaves and the people of color generally the rights and immunities of citizens, and aiding them to rise above all the degrading influences of slavery and caste. It would be absurd to ask that the new wine of this day should be put into our old bottles. The Freedmen's associations, which are springing up on every hand, are the spontaneous outgrowth of a regenerated public opinion. They are adapted to the wants of the present time, just as the Anti-Slavery Societies were to the demands of the period when the Slave Power was as yet unsubdued. The experiences of Abolitionists qualify them for great usefulness in these associations, and their coöperation will no doubt be welcomed and highly appreciated. Standing by themselves, they are few in numbers and feeble in resources. They must decrease, while the new associations increase. As a leaven in the great mass of people now coming forward to do the work of the hour, their influence will be most beneficent and powerful. Anti-Slavery Societies now are an anachronism—relics of the age of Slavery, now happily passed away. Noble n their birth, exalted in their career, they should pass away with the necessity which created them.

Readers of the STANDARD! I bid you, one and all, an affectionate farewell. For twelve years I have labored conscientiously, joyfully, and with my best ability, to make this paper worthy of your esteem and of the cause it was set to defend. That I have made many mistakes is probable,—nay, certain; but believe me, they were mistakes of the head, not of the heart. To the multitude of friends, known and unknown, in different parts of the country, who have so often cheered me with tokens of kind appreciation and sympathy, I return heartfelt thanks. If there is one who bears in his heart the memory of a single unkind word uttered by me in these columns, I crave his forgiveness, as, "with malice toward none, and charity for all," I lay down my pen. Farewell!

OLIVER JOHNSON.

*** My friends may address me, for the present, at No. 90, East Twelfth st., New York. O. J.

A PROTEST.

LEICESTER, Mass., May 12, 1865.

To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I AM constrained to take this method of laying before the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society a subject which I had no opportunity to present at the late annual meeting on account of its wholly unexpected adjournment. I had remained in attendance upon the Wednesday's business meeting from 10 o'clock a.m. to 5 p.m. without intermission, and then left, it being the general understanding (as I inferred from repeated statements to that effect), that there would be an adjournment to the next morning at 10 o'clock. Not long after leaving, I was informed by one who had just come from the meeting, that the Society had adjourned *sine die*. I am, therefore, under the necessity of addressing the Executive Committee and members of the Society in this manner.

According to the Treasurer's report, there is remaining in his hands a balance of over two thousand two hundred dollars. Of this amount, the sum of at least two thousand dollars was raised at the Subscription Anniversary in Boston in January last, being contributed, perhaps not wholly but nearly so, by those who supported and approved the management of the Society and of the STANDARD as then and for many years existing, and who approved the STANDARD's principle of giving a discriminating and honest support to the anti-slavery policy of Mr. Lincoln's Administration. I know this to be the fact in regard to a large proportion of the subscriptions made on that occasion; and I believe it to be so with very nearly all the remainder, because the issue with the STANDARD had then been fully taken, the purpose of Mr. Phillips and his friends to withhold their support from it had been distinctly announced, and it was understood that it devolved wholly upon the friends of the STANDARD *as it was*, to carry forward that Subscription Anniversary. The management of the Society and the STANDARD having now gone into the hands of those who, either during the whole of Mr. Lincoln's Administration or for the last two years of it at least, did all in their power to disparage it before the public, to destroy confidence in it, and to supersede it by another (even at the imminent risk of bringing back the reign of slavery with Gen. McClellan), I maintain that they *cannot*, in justice or with honor, take or use the money coming from the said Subscription Anniversary. It is pretty generally known that the present Executive Committee of the Society (or the great majority of them) contributed nothing to that fund, and gave no countenance or help to the meeting which raised it. Will they take that money and use it to make the STANDARD essentially different from the purpose had in view by its donors—a purpose for which, they know, it would never have been given? I trust not. If the STANDARD's course is *not* to be changed, why the last year's denunciation of it and war upon it? If it is to be changed, will they take this money for the purpose?

Having myself been largely instrumental in obtaining the fund in question (which I may say without subjecting myself to the charge of egotism), I feel that it is my right and my duty to protest against such diversion of it from its original design and to claim its restoration to those who were originally made the trustees of it. And this I do claim in this public and distinct manner. Legal forms may justify the present Committee in detaining it, but every higher consideration peremptorily forbids.

I ask and claim that the fund in question, or so much of it as may fairly be considered as derived from the late Subscription Anniversary, may be paid into the hands of those who constituted the late Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be appropriated by them as they shall judge best in aid of the Anti-Slavery cause; willingly excepting from this claim any subscription whose donor prefers its use by the present Committee.

—The above was written four days since. To-day I learn that Parker Pillsbury is selected to act as the future Editor of the STANDARD. That fact does not lessen my desire to make this protest. Intimately knowing Mr. Pillsbury's devotion and eminent services to the Anti-Slavery Cause in years past, and having for a considerable term of years been a hearty fellow-laborer with him in the cause, I have still seen in him during the last four years such a lack of sound judgment in regard to its promotion, such a prevailing tone of despair in regard to its success, such a purpose to decry as only specious and hypocritical the progressive steps of the people and government towards Liberty and Justice, that I can look with no pleasure on his appointment. And when I remember that he was a promoter of the Cleveland Political Convention, a member and officer of it, and a supporter of its nominations as long as they could be kept before the people—and believing as I do that the success of the Anti-Slavery Cause was greatly perilled by that movement, and some of its essential principles compromised—I feel that one who could commit such an extraordinary mistake (to call it by no harder name) at that most critical hour of the Anti Slavery contest is no by no means the right editor of the STANDARD now. I certainly say this in no personal unkindness to Mr. Pillsbury, I say what is the truth, and truth which ought not to be forgotten.

My protest and appeal are, therefore, before the subscribers to the STANDARD, whom I regard as (after all) the real constituency and membership of the Society, and whose decisions on several points I believe would be quite different from those given at the late annual meeting. I especially think *they* would not have refused a vote of thanks and approval to the past editors of the STANDARD, for their many years of laborious and conscientious service—so unhandsomely refused at the late meeting. My protest is also before the Executive Committee of the Society.

I remain, respectfully, yours, SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

A NOTE FROM MARY GREW.

MR. EDITOR: I very much regret that the American Anti-Slavery Society closed the sessions of its Annual Meeting without expressing its appreciation of the value of its organ, the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, and its gratitude to the gentlemen who have, for a long period of years, been its Editors. The eminent ability with which the paper has been conducted has won for it a wide and honorable reputation, among both the friends and opponents of our cause; and the service which it has rendered to that cause cannot be fully estimated. The best years of the life of its Resident Editor have been devoted to this department of anti-slavery labor, with untiring zeal and unswerving purpose, through the dark and the bright periods of our warfare. Doubtless the glorious triumphs of our cause, in which we are now rejoicing, are sufficient recompense for all his self-sacrificing labor.

In common with many members of the Society, I deeply regret the determination, announced in the STANDARD, of the Editors to resign their posts before the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment should ensure the utter extinction of American slavery. In common with many of my fellow-laborers, I have dissented from the course sometimes pursued by the STANDARD, during the last two years; but in common, I believe, with the members of the American Society generally, I bear my testimony *most heartily* to the ability, the fidelity to the slave, the generous devotion to Truth and the Right, with which the Editors of our organ have performed their onerous duties.

I trust that the hour is not far distant when the question, upon which we were divided in opinion at our recent Annual Meeting, will be no longer a question; but that the legal and constitutional extinction of slavery will be a fact "known and read of all men," and we shall, with united voices, dissolve our Anti-Slavery Societies, and sing our Jubilee Hymn. Until that hour, let us all, who have, for thirty years, stood side by side and heart to heart, breasting the battle and the storm, continue to work for the cause of Human Freedom, in such manner as our consciences and opportunities may direct, and, while differing in judgment, strive to preserve the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace. MARY GREW.

May 14, 1865.

THE COMING MAN.—The readers of the STANDARD will naturally be anxious to learn the name of the new Editor. We have received no official information on the subject, but understand that the post which we now vacate is to be filled by Parker Pillsbury. Mr. Pillsbury is an able writer, and has had some experience in editorial labor, having, more than twenty years, ago conducted for a time the *Herald of Freedom* at Concord, N. H. He is the very incarnation of the spirit that has revolutionized the American Anti-Slavery Society, and will be able, doubtless, to please those who, during the past year, have thought the paper "a fraud and disgrace upon the Society."

BUSINESS MEETINGS.

(Continued from First Page.)

which I have previously attended on this question. To me, it is a perfectly simple question, dividing itself into two parts. One is, As Abolitionists, is there anything for us to do? And the second is, granting that there is something for us to do, Is there any peculiar facility and power conferred upon us in regard to doing it by remaining associated as we have been for thirty years? Have we got anything to do, and are we better able to do it as members of this Society? It seems to me these points include the whole question.

Now, what brought us together? Slavery; the system of slavery in the Constitution—the substantial existence of slavery on the plantation. Certainly, that brought us together. No matter that in our Declaration of Sentiments and in our Constitution, having been attracted by that great evil, we extended our pledge to something more, as my friend Mr. Downing has reminded us. But let us consider the point of view from which Mr. Garrison presents it. The question of slavery brought us together—what will naturally dissolve us? Why, the death of slavery—the legal and substantial death of slavery. Now, when we undertook to come together, what did we look at? We looked at the Constitution of the United States. We said, "Here are provisions which make a system of chattel slavery legal under this government." That was the law that brought us together. Is it ended? Is there anybody in this house who undertakes to say that he can go into the office of any distinguished counsellor in this city, or in any other city of the country, and ask him, "Sir, is slavery, beyond dispute, illegal in the United States of America, at this moment?" and that he will say, "Yes, sir"? Go to what counsellor you please and ask him, "How stands the Constitution of the United States to-day?—does it sanction slavery?" and he will say, "It does, sir." Suppose I should say to a lawyer, "Can you tell me what fact will notify me that the legal existence of slavery is unmistakably ended?" he would say, "Yes, I can. Whenever the Secretary of State at Washington, by the advice of the Administration, or with the consent of Congress, or by permission of the Supreme Court, shall issue a proclamation declaring that the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery hereby and hereafter forms a part of the Constitution of these States, then slavery is at an end." Have you heard of any such proclamation? Of course not. When it will come, nobody knows. It may not come until next May; it may come next October. Some men count States one way, some another. On Mr. Sumner's theory, twenty or twenty-one States will be sufficient, and we make up that number by counting in Arkansas, Louisiana, and other States, which the legislative branches of the government have not yet recognized as States. Of course, therefore, they cannot be counted. We have not, therefore, covered even Mr. Sumner's theory. I agree with Mr. Sumner's theory, as a lawyer; I think it is sound constitutional doctrine. But if it were covered, it would not matter. Gerrit Smith thought there was no slavery in the country years ago, but we did not dissolve. Lysander Spooner proved it beyond question, to his own satisfaction, but we did not dissolve. A great many men agree with Mr. Garrison that that Amendment is law, but how shall we know it? We shall know it when the appropriate departments of the government pass the act that seals it. The Secretary of State is authorized by the law of Congress, taking such counsel as he sees fit, to issue a proclamation and state when, in the opinion of the government, the Amendment is adopted. Up to the present time, no such proclamation has been issued. The government of the United States, therefore, at present, does not acknowledge the existence of the Constitutional Amendment, and slavery is yet, so far as the Constitution is concerned, a legal element of it.

That is one-half the question. We came together to abolish the system of slavery. That system was a legal matter; it existed in the parchment; it was laid up in the statute-book. Well, it lies there still. In the eye of the law, we have not touched it. My beloved friend, Mr. Garrison, used a word which suggested to me an old story. He said slavery has received its death-wound. Ah! Gen. Heath said, in the Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution in Massachusetts, in 1789, "Gentlemen, if slavery is not dead, it has received its death-wound"; but it is not dead yet.

Now as to the substantial slavery. My friend Powell says, what everybody knows, that all around the Gulf there are black men by hundreds of thousands laboring to-day under the lash, and in the same bonds, untouched, that they did in the year 1860. Our sword has not reached them; Sherman has not reached them. Neither proclamations nor laws have reached them. We shall reach them. We shall send our sceptre down to the Gulf, but we have not sent it. It has not lifted the yoke from their shoulders. Many a man's brother will die and be buried, and never know freedom; a thousand will die before the news, in its actual significance, reaches them. This is substantial slavery. Go into Kentucky, and you find substantial slavery—so strong that it keeps thousands of black men in their chains and holds the Legislature against your Constitutional Amendment; the virus of the system and the exhibition of the system both. Why, I have a letter from one of the highest officers and most active and devoted Abolitionists of Delaware, and he says to me, "For Heaven's sake, don't disband! If you haven't anything else to do, send all your force into this little State, and in three months you will give us an anti-slavery Legislature and the Constitutional Amendment" (applause). Shall I come up here as an Abolitionist, and say my work is done, when a man from that slave State holds his hand over the border, and says, "Come and help me out of a pro-slavery vassalage which does not permit me to labor to put my State on the side of the Constitutional Amendment, or sweep away one single relic of the disfranchisement or oppression of the black race in this State"? My work done? Why, here is testimony that it is not practically and substantially done. Hundreds of thousands of slaves at this moment know not liberty, and thousands never will. It is no time for us to disband.

Do you want to look at the exhibitions of the disease? My friend, Mr. Garrison, and others, say in reply to Mr. Remond, "These incidents are not what we referred to." No, of course we did not. I know a disease will last, in its exhibitions, long after the citadel is carried. But when the citadel is not carried, when legally and substantially it remains, it is germane to look at the exhibition. Down at Richmond, within a month, they wanted that Augean stable of crime and filth, the Libby Prison, cleansed. Whom did they send to make it fit for Christian men to enter? The white rebels of Richmond? Oh, no; the black troops (cries of "Shame")—the men who had fought for us, and bathed the flag in their own blood on many a battle-field! Oh, if there is anything a Northerner loves at the bottom of his heart, it is a rebel—a good, true, strong, stalwart, unconverted rebel! (Sensation.) So, when our authorities—these very men in whose good purposes, in whose intention and determination the Anti-Slavery Society is to leave the just finished question—when they had peculiarly disagreeable and horrible work to do, the white men of Richmond, who had stood by and seen that prison grow into its state of hell, were delicately considered, and the colored troops were selected to do it! (Cries of "Shame!") And when these same "delicate" rebels could not bear the sight of a black face under the Union flag, we removed all our colored troops from Richmond, and sent them down to Petersburg! Is that a converted government? Is it so thoroughly impregnated with the idea of justice to the negro, that the Abolitionists can afford to be generous about technicalities, and dispense with the etiquette of the question?

Mr. Garrison—Where is the evidence of that fact?

Mr. Phillips—It is evidenced in all the reports that come to us from Richmond. Weitzel sent away all the black troops, and he himself was sent down, very properly, by the Secretary of War. Why, out of that very prison a white soldier looked, and said to a black woman passing by, "Mother, give me one single taste of bread, for I am starving," and she handed him a loaf; and as it passed from her hand to his, the guard shot her down! (Sensation.) And yet those guards, and the men who stood behind them, are sedulously cared for by the government; their feelings, their prejudices, their antipathies nurtured—the black race fit for anything! I do not trust such a government; I do not believe in it—that is, in the sense of leaving our question to it. We have got very near the end. We shall put the seal on the bond. That will be something. If then you choose to say, "The law is all right, we will leave to politicians the substance," perhaps I shall not very anxiously say no. But my conviction would be that, even when the seal was put to the bond, we ought not to dissolve until society itself was so arranged as to guarantee it (applause).

That is the work before us. Now, can we do it any better as the American Anti-Slavery Society, than in any other capacity? My friends say, "We do not mean to give up work." I never suspected them of it. I never supposed they intended to give up work. No doubt they mean to work. My friend, Mr. Powell, suggests that we break up the Society to oblige them, and then come together on a new basis. Ah! I cannot, for the slave's sake, if the majority are with me, consent to give up the prestige of the name of the American Anti-Slavery Society, earned by thirty years of labor (applause). When President Lincoln said to a citizen of Connecticut, who was counselling and almost rebuking him upon the subject of slavery, "How dare you rebuke me, when Wm. Lloyd Garrison applauds me"—what was the significance of that name with which he silenced his conscientious rebuker? Why, it was, that that name represented thirty years of untiring, disinterested and courageous devotion to justice and honor. Now, the American Anti-Slavery Society has that same value, earned by thirty years of devoted labor. It means something that has stood through fiery trials. It has earned a reputation for good sense, for far-sighted statesmanship, for a clear insight, for standing by the right, and knowing how to stand by it. That reputation which it has earned belongs to us. The majority, as long as they hold together in a fair and Christian spirit, have a right to it, and for the slave's sake, I claim it, if it belongs to me (applause). I will not pull down my flag until the United States pulls down her's (applause). We ran up this flag of the American Anti-Slavery Society against the constitutional flag of slavery. When Wm. H. Seward pulls his down, I will pull down mine—not until then [applause]. Mine floats as long as his does. While there is a slave to free on any plantation of the States, this side of the Gulf of Mexico, this Society has work to do, and I am for keeping it together [renewed applause].

Now, you will ask, "What will we do?" This we will do: we will continue the publication of the Anti-Slavery Standard. If we cannot afford it once a week, we will publish it once in two weeks; if we cannot afford it once in two weeks, we can publish it once a month [hear, hear]; and we will say to the American people—weekly, fortnightly or monthly—"The judgment of the men who have given their noon of days to the study of this question, and who have proved the sincerity of their views by a life devoted to it, is that there should be no peace and no reconstruction that does not put land under the foot of the negro, and a ballot in his hand [loud applause]. Well, what does Washington say? We are told that the Cabinet meetings which have been held recently have exhibited the largest disposition to adopt this view, and that the President says to his friends, "I must have the expression of public opinion to sustain the Administration in such a step." Who shall give it to him? It is to be done by Senator Sumner assembling a Convention of his friends in Massachusetts, and Dickinson doing the same in New York, and letting the determination of the people be manifested through the channel of these and similar Conventions in other States. And are we nothing? Mr. Garrison says it is almost self-conceited for us to stand isolated, that it is assuming to ourselves a great deal. I have stood isolated so long that I am quite accustomed to it [laughter and applause]. I know where I stand, and I know that, small as have been our numbers, we have been looked to in the whole settlement of this question as men who studied and understood it, and sacrificed to it. I do not know how much our influence has been, but I know that all we had, we gave, and that is all we were responsible for. I know that, standing side by side with each other, with the persistency and devotion of thirty years, increases our influence a hundred-fold. I want to continue in just that position. I want all that past for my back-ground. I want all that name to conjure with. What do these gentlemen offer me instead? Why, they offer me, most of them, a Freedman's Association. Well, I sat down and read its circular, and it said, "Gentlemen! Christians! give us funds! We want to elevate the degraded negro." I said, "Enough! if that is the only goal you have reached, if that is the average of your estimate of the black race, after four years of such sublime exhibitions of Christianity and patience and heroism, somehow or other, I don't belong to you, or you don't belong to me" [applause]. Well, who do I find standing on their platform as speakers? Men who have not touched the Garrisonian enterprise for twenty-five years with a forty foot pole [laughter]; men who, no time within a quarter of a century, would have been seen on this platform—[Mr. Garrison—So much the better]—men who, within three months, have told me, in their own native State, that they dared not claim suffrage for the negro, and that all they dared to claim was the school-house. I said to them, "Go on; it is an honorable zeal in you. It is all Baltimore will tolerate, for aught I know. God speed you! What little you can do, do it! But do you suppose I added, "Drag me down to your level!" Do you suppose I said, "Put Baltimore, half-gagged, on my Boston ungagged lips!" No, indeed [applause]. I said, "Thirty years have I worked, that I may say, in the community in which I live, whatever my conscience dictates; and if you have not worked your way up to that level yet—God speed you!—but I do not come down to yours." A friend suggests that these men may feel very uncomfortable, and may think us very much in their way. An infant, just getting on to its feet, says to its mother, "Mother, you are very much in my way" [laughter]. Why, it is just possible we may consider them in our way, if they were likely to be in anybody's way; but they will not be, until they put into the front rank, and on their platform, a man who to-day represents the vanguard. The Freedmen's Associations are doing a good work, and a work that is needed; but not the work of an Abolitionist of the American Anti-Slavery Society to-day; and therefore you have not supplied me a substitute for this Society in any that I see around me. Legally and substantially, our work is not done, and by every association of history, by every natural result of past labors, we are a hundred-fold better able to do it, organized as the American Anti-Slavery Society, with its old banner, than we are either as individuals, or as enrolled in a new organization.

But, friends, this is confining the discussion altogether too narrowly. I do not know what Mr. Garrison meant when he wrote the Declaration of Sentiments, and the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society——

Mr. Garrison—I do.

Mr. Phillips—Of course he does; and his construction is sufficient for his guidance, but not for mine and not for yours. The clerks who wrote the Constitution of the United States are one thing; the people who accepted it are another. Now, we accepted the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society; we all came under it, and labored under it. It has one harmonious, indivisible idea: it is the safety beyond peril and the equality without a doubt of the colored race in this country [applause and cries of "Hear, hear"]. If Garrisonianism means anything, it means that; and in all prior time, we have claimed it. In the day of mobs and perils, that was the meaning of all our efforts: The negro an equal with the white man—the word white banished from our Constitution; I will not say [although we have generally added that] and from our Society. Well, we stand to day not only with technical and substantial slavery, but we stand with the black race on the heights of Canaan, it is true, but by no means in it. Prejudice is very rife. All over the country, the colored man is yet a Pariah. Now, friends, my abolitionism, when I pledged my faith to that Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, was, "Absolute equality before the law; absolute civil equality" [loud applause]; and I never shall leave the negro until, so far as God gives me the power, I achieve it.

Mr. Garrison—Who proposes to do so?

Mr. Phillips—With this Society, so mighty a weapon for that purpose, justified by its Constitution in continuing, pledged, as I think, by its thirty years of utterance, to continue, I cannot consent to see it disband. I want every doubter to remember that the flag of slavery floats over the Constitution. Mr. Seward has not opened his lips to proclaim the adoption of the Anti-Slavery Amendment; Chief-Justice Chase does not authorize it; Congress does not authorize it; and that in Delaware, Kentucky and along the Gulf, hundreds of thousands of slaves are in chains. Substance and theory, fact and law, are alike still unsettled. Now, while there is one legal slave in the Union, the American Anti-Slavery Society has no right to dissolve [applause]. While there is one single act to be done to make certain the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment, this Society has no right to dissolve [renewed applause].

The Society then adjourned, to meet on Wednesday morning at 10 o'clock.

Wednesday, May 10.

The Society met again at the hour of adjournment, Edmund Quincy, Esq., in the Chair. The resolution offered by Mr. Garrison in reference to the dissolution of the Society was read by one of the Secretaries, and the discussion upon it continued.

Rev. Mr. Spaulding, of Salem, Mass.—I hope this Society will not disband. The meetings it has held in town and country, through a long series of years, have done a great deal to enlighten and inspire the general mind. Its organ in this city, which has been conducted with ability, would be greatly missed by its subscribers. Do you propose to haul down your Standard? The *Herald* lives. Is there no work for you to do? Mr. Greeley is in tears through fear that Jefferson Davis will be hung. I hope you will try to solace him [laughter]. Is the *Liberator* to be given up? Why, the *Courier* still lives. Who will take care of Lunt? And, not to forget my own profession, who will look after Adams and Blagden, and men of that stripe among the clergy? The *Liberator* has done a good work in bringing the clergy to their duty, and I think much yet remains to be done in that direction.

But it is said—"Slavery is dead—why war against the dead?" We were told yesterday, I think by the President of this Society, that the Constitutional Amendment was passed. Well, the government does not think so, or it would, through the proper channel, announce the fact. President Lincoln did not think so. He was very anxious that Louisiana should be admitted as a State, in order that it might act upon the Amendment. He was afraid the egg would be smashed before the bird was fairly out. I think if we could ask the slaves of the Gulf States if they regarded themselves as free, they would point to the fetters still upon their limbs. I expect the Amendment will pass. The hand is uplifted that shall, in form, at least, give the death-blow to slavery; but let us wait until the hand falls before we disband. Let us wait until the thunderbolt has smitten the monster to the earth; and I think it would be well then to have a jubilant anniversary round the grave of the evil that has oppressed us so long.

I am not entirely certain that the work of this Society is accomplished. I had thought that the Amendment would take the four millions of slaves at the South from the market; that it would secure them the marriage institution; that it would bring to them some recompense for their labor; and in trying to gather up in my thought what we should surely gain out of this struggle, I have permitted myself greatly to rejoice in these results; but the remarks of Frederick Douglass last evening, in the Cooper Institute, have had the effect to shake, in some measure, the faith I had permitted myself to cherish. He pointed out what privileges and rights might be wrested from the black man by unfriendly legislation. I do not know but he might be compelled, notwithstanding the adoption of this Constitutional Amendment, to toil for his mere subsistence. I do not know but the South might refuse to establish a tribunal which would legalize within its borders the institution of marriage among the blacks. I do not know but that the black man might, on the ground of some pretended crime, be thrown into the market, and that Charleston might call upon Boston to return the old auction-block. The remarks of this man, who ought to understand the perils of his own race better far than I, or any white man, can understand them, greatly shook my faith in the results which I had believed would follow from this Amendment. I think, at the best, it can give to him but a small portion of his rights and, I hold that a man is a slave just to the extent he is robbed of his rights [applause]. Bind him hand and foot, seal his lips, close his vision, shut out from his soul the harmonies of heaven, if you can, and we should be all agreed that he was indeed a slave. Rob him of all his rights, and who disputes that he is a bondman? Touch the eye and it opens—is he entirely free? Unbind the manacle that holds his right hand—is he a freeman? Give to him exemption from the auction-block, secure to him the marriage institution, and some recompense for his daily toil, and stop there—is he a freeman? Withhold from him the spelling-book, take from him the ballot, deny him the right to occupy a place in the jury-box—is he a freeman? I think not. Here is a felon shut up in his cell—the door locked, the iron bar placed across it. That felon has chains upon his limbs, and the bolt is driven into the wall. Now, turn the key, lift the bar, throw open the door—is the man at large with the chain still upon his limbs, with the bolt not yet wrenched from the wall? I think not. Have you satisfied his desires? Have you restored him to liberty? No. Until you melt the chains from his limbs, wrench the bolt from the rock, and bring him into the open day, and leave him in the full enjoyment of his God-given rights, you do not make him a freeman.

Now, I do not believe that this Society was organized to inaugurate the work of emancipation merely, but to carry it on, and to complete it. I do not believe it was founded to utter great prophecies, but to fulfil great hopes. I do not think it was established to go out upon the sea and bring in the men floating in peril of their lives there, and place them so near the shore that it shall be within the compass of their vision, and then throw them upon an undertow that may take them all back into the very depths of the sea. In a speech which Mr. Phillips made a year or two ago, he said the object of this Society was to place the black man of America upon the solid ground of citizenship; it was not to leave him low down upon the shore of the dark, heaving sea of oppression. As he expressed it, it was not to leave him in shoal water, where Webster was wont to shoot his snipes, but it was to carry him to Plymouth Rock, and leave him there [loud applause]. It was to take him to Bunker Hill and Faneuil Hall, and leave him there. It was to take him to the ballot-box, and the jury-box, and the school-house, and the open church, and leave him there. It was not to let him go until it found for him the high ground of equality before the law. I have always supposed that you were to accomplish this full work before you were to disband; and if I have been right in this supposition, I think I may say that your work is not completed.

We learn by the last arrivals from the South, that the rebels of Louisiana are uniting with the pro-slavery Union men [if you can understand that term], for the purpose of getting possession of the State government, and I ask you how long a period of time will in your judgment elapse, if this plan shall be carried into execution, as I greatly fear it will, before the colored men of that State will receive the right of suffrage? They will not receive it until the Mississippi runs up hill. We learn from Richmond that the leading rebels of that capital are in great numbers taking the oath of allegiance. They are hungry for the amnesty oath. The owner of the Tredegar works has taken it, and, for aught I know, the members of the rebel Senate and House of Representatives of that State have taken it. Doubtless they all will, and the people will take it; and the New York *Tribune* of this morning declares that this oath will prepare nine hundred and ninety-nine Virginians out of a thousand to discharge the rights of citizenship. Now, give the State government of Virginia into the hands of these nine hundred and ninety-nine subdued, crushed, but not regenerated or repentant rebels, the control of the Old Dominion, and when will that black man who informed the detectives and the soldiers of the Republic where the assassin of our lamented Chief-Magistrate had found refuge, get his right to go to the ballot-box? When will Virginia give to the black man the right of suffrage? Not until the James river dries up, and Wise, and Letcher, and Gov. Smith have found the way to heaven. If the black man gets his right to the ballot at all, then, he must get it from the General government, in the settlement of this difficulty, and I believe it to be the mission of this body to bring its influence to bear upon the government to compass this work.

On motion of Mr. Bowditch, speeches were limited to ten minutes, except with permission of the meeting.

Samuel May, Jr.—I wish to say a very few words on the resolution before the meeting. Putting all personal considerations aside, I wish to state how this question looks to my mind. I have given, with as much sincerity and disinterestedness, I believe, as I could, about twenty-five of the best years of my life to this Society, and the holy cause it has advocated. I have no desire for the Society to live one minute after its work is done. Out of regard to it, I would never wish any one to say of it, with truth,

"Superfluous, lags the veteran on the stage."

The moment its work is done, I wish it might dissolve, as it could then, gloriously, honorably, and, I think, with the approval of all good men, and of God. While I essentially agree with the spirit of Mr. Garrison's resolution, while I agree essentially in the view that the abolition of slavery is practically accomplished, there is yet one consideration which prevents my giving a vote at this time to dissolve the Society. I feel, as Mr. Phillips succinctly and forcibly stated it yesterday, that the Anti-Slavery Society ought not to haul down its flag one moment before slavery hauls its flag down. I do not say before the United States haul its flag down. I believe the United States flag now testifies for freedom wherever it is raised; but until the flag of slavery is struck in such a way that the whole world shall see it beyond all mistake, beyond all doubt, and until we have engrafted on the Constitution the principle that slavery is abolished and forever prohibited in the land, I want this Society to remain afloat.

Now, my idea and wish were, that our President should have remained in that office, as he has done for some twenty years past; and I know, if he had been willing to remain, no rival could have dislodged him from that place. No person looking at the matter unselfishly, and without any partizan feeling, could come here and ask Mr. Garrison to leave that place, that another might be put there. I never have had any doubt of that; and I am fully confirmed in it, by the fact that the Nominating Committee, as I am informed, intend to nominate him, although it is known to be Mr. Garrison's purpose to vacate the office at this time. It is a handsome tribute to him. I know that if he had been willing to stand where he is a little longer (as it seems to me he should, but he is a much better judge than I am), there he would have stood, and the Society would have gone on as in times past, and been conducted on the same liberal, magnanimous, generous, faithful principles which have marked its career from the beginning. What, as it seems to me, would have met the present state of things would have been for the Society to pass, at this meeting, a resolution stating that whenever the Secretary of State should declare the Constitutional Amendment adopted, then the Society should be dissolved *de facto*, or providing for another meeting, when the members could come together and dissolve the Society.

Now, in regard to the point of the work to be done, as our friend Phillips tells us. I say that work has been done; I say the Society has been just as faithful to all these other objects as to the great work for the abolition of slavery. Everywhere the battle has been fought for the elevation of the colored man. Take the marriage law, the separate schools, the exclusion from railroad cars and other vehicles—one by one, these oppressive and unjust distinctions have fallen before the might and power which, I say before God, emanated from this Society, and those acting in connection with it. We have been true to these great principles, and every colored man and woman knows it, and they testify thankfully to the work we have accomplished. We have done that work. And now that slavery is virtually abolished, now that the Constitutional Amendment is within six, eight or ten months of being ratified, and the work for the overthrow of slavery is so near at an end, I say, in view of my interest in these great questions (and I go most heartily, as I have never had any other thought, for making the colored man a free and equal citizen, with land, the ballot, and everything that belongs to any other citizen), I think the work can be a great deal better accomplished out of this Society than in it. Take the leaven of this Society and infuse it into every Freedman's Aid Society in the land, and every other society, and, my word for it, that leaven will leaven the entire mass, and its power will be multiplied a thousand-fold. Who that went to the Cooper Institute last evening but must have felt mortified at the representation made here yesterday of the Society which held that meeting? First, the President of the Society, a Maryland man, pledged it to every right of the negro, including his right to land, equal citizenship, the ballot. Then came our eloquent friend Douglass, who had doubted, at first, whether he was properly there, but he made a magnificent speech, and approved and blessed the Society, and allowed that he had not formed a true idea of its value and intent. Then came speaker after speaker, and finally Mr. Garrison, who made a very able and eloquent speech. I want to refer to a few remarks of my friend Douglass in his eloquent speech. He said he was afraid that Society would outlive its usefulness; he doubted whether we needed such a society. He said, "Let us alone; we, the colored people, don't want assistance; we don't want help; let us alone; if you see us going to school, let us go; if you see us going to the ballot-box, let us alone; we don't want old clothes; we will take care of our schools, we will take care of our churches, if you will only allow us our rights." I think that was his exact argument. Now, Mr. Douglass was afraid that Society would outlive its usefulness, yet he is not willing that this Society, which has lived two and thirty years, should contemplate disbandment in the course of the year to come, because there is this great measure of political enfranchisement and other measures to be accomplished.

William I. Bowditch—Mr. President, there are two or three notions impressed upon my mind which I would like to utter. We were organized as an Anti-Slavery Society. The abolition of slavery was the idea with which we started. It is true we also said, "we are to oppose all prejudice of color, and to use our efforts for the elevation and advancement of the free people of color." But I take it, we put these objects into our Constitution, not because those were our main objects, but because we intended to attack them as the bulwarks of slavery. Prejudice of color grew out of slavery, supported slavery, and therefore we contended against it. In just the same way we attacked the Church. We did not attack the Church as a Church, but simply because, as a brotherhood of thieves, it was the bulwark of slavery. We did not attack the Union as the Union, because we have always been in favor of a Union down to the Gulf, but we attacked the Union because it was a Union the corner-stone of which was slavery.

We, then, organized for the purpose of abolishing slavery; we were and are Abolitionists; and when our duty is performed, we are to dissolve. We are bound to keep our flag flying until slavery is abolished; until slavery is not merely dead, but buried. I want to make a sure thing of it [applause]. Now, slavery actually exists in the Gulf States. You remember, Mr. President, that in our State [Mass.] slavery was abolished by the adoption of our State Constitution; but it actually existed after the adoption of that Constitution, and it required a decision of our Supreme Court to declare that slavery did not exist, and that during those few years, it had never existed. It does not seem to me that our duty in the premises is determined by this consideration, that slavery actually exists in the Southern States at this time. I admit the fact to be as our friend Phillips says, that slavery does in fact exist in the Southern States. I agree, also, with Mr. Garrison, in thinking that slavery is at this moment legally and constitutionally dead. I would not give two straws for any legal support that at present exists for the institution of slavery. The loyal States have carried on this government for the last four years. We have laid and collected taxes throughout the Union—in the Southern States as well as in the Northern States; we have sold estates at the South under our confiscation law; we have coined money; we have raised and supported and managed armies and navies; All our internal government has been carried on by the loyal States; all the external affairs of the government have been carried on by the loyal States alone. We are not bound, it seems to me, to wait for the seceded States to come back and unite with us. We have the power, under the Constitution, unless they please to come in, in the way pointed out by the Constitution, and exercise their powers. If they do not see fit to do it, it is their own fault. We do not suffer in consequence; we are all right. The Senate have acted on this principle. They have changed the number requisite to constitute a quorum of that body, in consequence of the withdrawal of the seceded States. Therefore I believe that slavery is disintegrated, and will surely die. I believe that slavery has been constitutionally abolished, and I have acted on that belief. I was born again [laughter] about twenty-three years ago, through the influence of my friend, Wendell Phillips. He gave me a very sufficient scourging, and I resigned my commission as a Justice of the Peace, because I had then aided fugitive slaves to escape, and intended to do the same again. But I have taken the oath to support the Constitution, and I have taken it honestly, and mean to abide by it. I do not feel under the slightest moral, legal or equitable obligation to support the institution of slavery at this present moment. I agree fully with Mr. Garrison in this respect. But that does not settle the question. It seems to me that we may believe that slavery is constitutionally abolished, and act upon that belief, because we must act upon our individual belief. But no department of the government has as yet declared that slavery is constitutionally abolished—neither Congress, nor the Secretary of State, nor the Supreme Court. Under these circumstances, it seems to me that it is our duty to remain together until the thing is made sure. We have, as members of the Society, duties to third persons, and we are bound to remain together until the government, through its appropriate organs, admits the fact that slavery is unconstitutional. Mr. Phillips said, and I believe he made the only argument that seemed to bear against the position I have taken, that we might take the opinion of the lawyers of this city, and they would all unite in the opinion that the Constitutional Amendment had not been adopted. Well, suppose they would? I don't suppose one in fifty of them would have given the opinion that the President had the right to issue his Emancipation Proclamation. I don't suppose one in fifty of them would have decided that slavery was abolished in Massachusetts by the adoption of the Constitution, yet it was; and we all believe the Emancipation Proclamation abolished slavery wherever it operated.

Mr. Phillips—I did not mean to say, in that sense, that that would be their opinion. I meant to say, that no lawyer would consider the Amendment sealed until the proclamation of the Secretary of State. I did not mean to fall back upon the corrupt or timid members of the profession, any more than my friend Bowditch.

Mr. Bowditch—I have always, through my life, when acting for other parties, when there were two methods, one probably sure, the other absolutely certain, taken the latter. Now, I am quite sure that slavery is constitutionally and legally dead, but there is one way in which I can be perfectly sure that it is; and that is, by waiting until the government, through its appropriate channel, has declared that fact. I think it is our duty to wait until that announcement is made [applause].

Frederick Douglass—Several gentlemen have been so kind as to refer to me in the course of this discussion, and my friend, Mr. May, referred to me as being opposed to the disbandment of this Society at any time during the present year. Having been thus referred to, I wish to put myself properly before the meeting.

Almost the first work the American Anti-Slavery Society asked me to do, after employing me as an agent more than twenty years ago, was to accompany Stephen S. Foster and Abby Kelley (now Mrs. Foster) into the State of Rhode Island, to wage a most unrelenting war against what was called the "Dorr Constitution," because that Constitution contained the odious word "white" in it. That was regarded as legitimate anti-slavery work at that time; and that work was most effectively performed, amid mobs and all sorts of violence. We succeeded in defeating that Dorr Constitution, and secured the adoption of a Constitution in which the word "white" did not appear. We thought that was a grand *anti-slavery* triumph, and it was; it was good *anti-slavery* work. When I came North and went to Massachusetts, I found that the leading work of the Abolitionists was to put the State of Massachusetts in harmony with the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society. They said charity began at home, and they looked over their statute-book, and whenever they found the word "white," there they recognised slavery, and they made war upon it. The anti-slavery ladies made themselves of no reputation by going about with petitions, asking the Legislature to blot out that hated word "white" from the marriage law. That was good anti-slavery work twenty years ago; I do not see why it is not good anti-slavery work now. It was a part of anti-slavery work then; it is a part now, I think.

I do not wish to appear here in any fault-finding spirit, or as an impugner of the motives of those who believe that the time has come for this Society to disband. I am conscious of no suspicion of the purity and excellence of the motives that animate the President of this Society, and the other gentlemen who are in favor of its disbandment. I take this ground: whether this Constitutional Amendment is law or not, whether it has been ratified by a sufficient number of States to make it law or not, I hold that the work of Abolitionists is not done [applause]. Even if every State in the Union had ratified that Amendment, while the black man is confronted in the legislation of the South by the word "white," our work as Abolitionists, as I conceive it, is not done. I took the ground last night, that the South, by unfriendly legislation, could make our liberty, under that provision, a delusion, a mockery, and a snare, and I hold that ground now. What advantage is a provision like this Amendment to the black man, if the Legislature of any State can to-morrow declare that no black man's testimony shall be received in a court of law? Where are we then? Any wretch may enter the house of a black man, and commit any violence he pleases; if he happens to do it only in the presence of black persons, he goes unwhipt of justice ["Hear, hear"]. And don't tell me that those people down there have become so just and honest all at once that they will not pass laws denying to black men the right to testify against white men in the courts of law. Why, our Northern States have done it. Illinois, Indiana and Ohio have done it. Here, in the midst of institutions that have gone forth from old Plymouth Rock, the black man has been excluded from testifying in the courts of law; and if the Legislatures of every Southern State to morrow pass a law declaring that no negro shall testify in any court of law, they will not violate that provision of the Constitution. Such laws exist now at the South. The next day, the Legislatures may pass a law that any black man who shall lift his arm in self-defence, even, against a white man, shall have that arm severed from his body, and may be hanged and quartered, and his head and quarters set up in the most public parts of the district where the crime shall have been committed. Such laws now exist at the South, and they might exist under this provision of the Constitution, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any State of the Union.

Then another point. I have thought, for the last fifteen years, that we had an anti-slavery Constitution—a Constitution intended "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." But we have had slavery all along. We had a Constitution that declared that the citizens of old Massachusetts should enjoy all the rights and immunities of citizens in South Carolina—but what of it? Let Mr. Hoar go down to South Carolina, and point to that provision in the Constitution, and they would kick him out of the State. There is something down in South Carolina higher than Constitutional provisions.

Slavery is not abolished until the black man has the ballot. While the Legislatures of the South retain the right to pass laws making any discrimination between black and white, slavery still lives there [applause]. As Edmund Quincy once said, "While the word 'white' is on the statute-book of Massachusetts, Massachusetts is a slave State. While a black man can be turned out of a car in Massachusetts, Massachusetts is a slave State. While a slave can be taken from old Massachusetts, Massachusetts is a slave State." That is what I heard Edmund Quincy say twenty-three or twenty-four years ago. I never forget such a thing. Now, while the black man can be denied a vote, while the Legislatures of the South can take from him the right to keep and bear arms, as they can—they would not allow a negro to walk with a cane where I came from, they would not allow five of them to assemble together—the work of the Abolitionists is not finished. Notwithstanding the provision in the Constitution of the United States that the right to keep and bear arms shall not be abridged, the black man has never had the right either to keep or bear arms; and the Legislatures of the States will still have the power to forbid it, under this Amendment. They can carry on a system of unfriendly legislation, and will they not do it? Have they not got the prejudice there to do it with? Think you, that because they are for the moment in the talons and the beak of our glorious eagle, instead of the slave being there, as formerly, that they are converted? I hear of the loyalty at Wilmington, the loyalty at South Carolina—what is it worth?

Mr. May—Not a straw.

Mr. Douglass—Not a straw. I thank my friend for admitting it. They are loyal while they see 200,000 sable soldiers, with glistening bayonets, walking in their midst [applause]. But let the civil power of the States be restored, and the old prejudices and hostility to the negro will revive. Aye, the very fact that the negro has been used to defeat this rebellion, and strike down the standards of the Confederacy, will be a stimulus to all their hatred, all their malice, and lead them to legislate with greater stringency towards this class than ever before [applause]. The American people are bound—bound by their sense of honor (I hope by their sense of honor, at least, by a just sense of honor), to extend the franchise to the negro; and I was going to say, that the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society were bound to "stand still and see the salvation of God," until that work is done [applause]. Where, where shall the black man look for support, my friends, if the American Anti-Slavery Society fails him? ["Hear, hear."] From whence shall we expect a certain sound from the trumpet of freedom, when the old pioneer, when this Society that has survived mobs, and martyrdom and the combined efforts of priest-craft and state-craft to suppress it, shall all at once subside, on the mere intimation that the Constitution has been amended, so that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter be allowed in this land? What did the slaveholders of Richmond say to those who objected to arming the negro, on the ground that it would make him a freeman? Why, they said, "The argument is absurd. We may make these negroes fight for us; but while we retain the political power of the South, we can keep them in their subordinate positions." That was the argument; and they were right. They might have employed the negro to fight for them, and while they retained in their hands the power to exclude him from political rights, they could have reduced him to a condition similar to slavery. They would not call it slavery, but some other name. Slavery has been fruitful in giving itself names. It has been called "the peculiar institution," "the social system," and the "impediment," as it was called by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has been called a great many names, and it will call itself by yet another name; and you and I and all of us had better wait and see what new form this old monster will assume, in what new skin this old snake will come forth next [loud applause].

The Chairman—I am told that a very eminent gentleman, well known to every person in this nation, is present. I am also told that he has a message of good news that he may communicate. I refer to the Hon. Henry Wilson, Senator of Mass. If he is here, and will have the kindness to address the audience, I am sure he will receive a most hearty welcome [loud applause].

Hon. Henry Wilson—*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:* I came in here to-day, as I have been accustomed to whenever I had the opportunity, for twenty-nine years, to listen to the voices from the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I came not here, sir, to speak, but to listen. I understand that the question before the Society is on its dissolution or continuance, and upon that, sir, I have not a word to say; it would not be proper for me to do so. You have asked me, sir, to say a few words. I can only say that I believe slavery, which this Society was organized to extinguish, is to-day in its grave, and that there is for it no resurrection [great applause]. There is not power enough anywhere in America to breathe vitality into that dead institution. But I do believe, sir, that the dark spirit of slavery lives in the hearts of the rebels. They are subdued, but they are not converted. The heel of the nation is upon the institution of American slavery, and its supporters are defeated, conquered to-day, but their love of slavery, their disposition to make the condition of the black men of this country miserable, still lives, and it is the duty of all men in the American Anti-Slavery Society, and out of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to see to it that all the power of this nation is used, in every legitimate and proper way, to protect the freedmen of the South. Sir, I am in favor of all legislation that shall place the black man of the country exactly and precisely where I stand to-day [tremendous applause]; that shall give him the right to go where he pleases in any and every part of the continent; that shall secure him the fruits of his own labor; that shall, in a word, give him the same liberty, the same rights, that we all possess, in every respect [applause]. And, sir, I am in favor of using the power of this nation to make the Constitution of the United States what it declares itself to be—a Constitution for the protection of the people of the country and their posterity forever. Now sir, I believe if we carry out this idea, we must hold the rebels in subjugation for years with the bayonet, or we must put the ballot into the hands of the colored men of the South [applause]. It must be the bayonet of the black man to protect the rights of the black man of the South, or the